

# PEACE NEWS

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## British Churches oppose H-test

### JAPANESE GOVT. REPRESENTATIVE TO SEE BRITISH MINISTER

AGAINST the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the British Council of Churches passed a resolution on Tuesday deploring the decision of their Government to carry out Hydrogen bomb tests.

It was passed by 39 votes to 32. Last week the Free Church Federal Council also voiced its opposition to the tests.

The British Council of Churches' resolution was supported by Dr. Bell, Bishop of Chichester, and arose out of a resolution passed by the National Christian Council of Japan protesting against the carrying out of the tests.

Dr. Bell said that the explosions were taking place in Asiatic waters, and he thought it was not too much to say that the attitude of millions of Asiatic people towards Christian mis-

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sions, and of Christian Churches in Asia, might be affected by the decision of the Christian Churches in the United Kingdom.

Professor Matsushita, personal representative of the Japanese Prime Minister, is expected to see Commander Noble, Minister of State, at the Foreign Office today.

Last night Mr. Matsushita was planning to meet leaders of British peace organisations, MPs, the editors of Peace News and The Friend, and others associated with the campaign against the British H-test.

The meeting was organised by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests who sent the Japanese Mission a message of welcome on their arrival in Britain.

"The Council has received an overwhelming measure of support for its campaign to persuade Her Majesty's Government to postpone or abandon the proposed Christmas Island tests," they declared in their letter to Mr. Matsushita.

"Feeling in this country against the tests is already very strong and pressure on Her Majesty's Government has been increasing steadily and we hope that your visit in addition to the work of the Council will result in a change of heart on the part of our statesmen."

Professor Matsushita told a representative of Peace News who met him at London Air Port on Monday morning:

"I have come with a private letter to Mr. Macmillan which I cannot disclose at present. There is strong feeling in Japan against the tests on moral grounds."

#### STEELES VISIT SOVIET EMBASSY

Harold and Shiela Steele, two of the British people who have offered to join an international fleet should one be able to sail into the Pacific test area, have received an invitation to go out to Japan as guests of Mrs. Takkako Koiwai.

Last Friday, shortly before he appeared on TV, Harold Steele called at the Soviet Embassy in London to plead for some more emphatic gesture from the Soviet Union that would enable the British Government to save its face if it could be persuaded to abandon its H-bomb test.

He was told that the Soviet Union had gone far in that direction already.

The Japanese Government are opposing a plan by the Japanese Council for the Prohibition of A- and H-bombs to charter a 1,000 ton vessel or two smaller fishing boats for a voyage to the Pacific test area.

Some 7,000 Japanese have volunteered to man the ships in addition to foreign volunteers. Dr. Kagawa, the leading Japanese Christian, has joined the Committee of the Council, so has the President of the Japan YWCA and Shinzo Hamai, the former Mayor of Hiroshima and member of the War Resisters' International.

Mrs. Hatsue Nonomiya of the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation is among those reported in favour of the protest fleet. There is some division of opinion on this question, however, and Mrs. Tamaki Uemura, leader of the YWCA, doubts whether such a measure is justifiable.

"We can rouse the public opinion of the world and appeal to the British people and the whole world to stand up against the tests," she said.

★ ON PAGE EIGHT

# THE POLICY OF THE H-BOMB

## A critical stage in party politics

ONE of the biggest mistakes made by the Labour Government between 1945 and 1950 was to approve of the production of the atom bomb in Britain.

It decided on this policy without saying much about it and when the Tories returned to power in 1951, Sir Winston Churchill was quick to remind us that the Labour Government had spent £100,000,000 on producing the atom bomb without informing Parliament.

By EMRYS HUGHES MP

bald." But Mr. Attlee in his main election speeches repeated the case against H-bomb tests.

No less than 69 per cent of the Labour candidates at the last General Election declared for stopping H-bomb tests. Very few of them seemed to have made a point of defending the manufacture of the H-bomb. They avoided the subject. Indeed, reading one of the books analysing how the parties dealt with election issues, one is struck by the fact how little discussion of the H-bomb there was.

Apart from Sir Richard Acland and a few pacifist Labour MPs there seemed to be a reluctance on the part of either of the parties to deal with this supremely important matter.

The H-bomb is after all the life and death issue that faces the world today, but at the Election it was treated as one of the secondary issues.

But today the H-bomb issue has come right to the forefront of politics in spite of the fact that the politicians would prefer not to talk about it.

In face of the dangers that have been revealed by the scientists, Governments can no longer feel satisfied about tests of H-bombs. There is blowing up a growing world opinion that is calling for these tests to end.

#### Mr. BROWN'S BROADCAST

The prospects of harm being inflicted on future generations, the fear that our grandchildren and great grandchildren might have cancer in their bones and become monstrosities, can no longer be dismissed as hysteria or scaremongering.

Mr. Macmillan comes back from Bermuda determined to go ahead with the explosion in the Pacific.

He asks the Labour Party if they are against the tests but in favour of the bombs. He points out that the whole of our present defence strategy is based upon nuclear weapons.

Now the Labour Party has no right to complain if Mr. Macmillan asks this question. The country has the right to demand an answer. So has the Labour Party rank and file.

If the Labour Party continues to support the strategy of the H-bomb, the changing over from bombers to rockets and guided missiles, then what is the fundamental difference between Labour and the Tories that Labour is attempting to drive out of power, and which the signs are clear that the nation wants driven from power.

What real difference is there between what Mr. Sandys is telling us and what Mr. George Brown advocated in his political party broadcast last Saturday night?

The most by which Mr. Brown is apparently prepared to reduce the yearly bill for defence appears to be £300,000,000—in some years time.

Is the Labour Party really prepared to go on spending £1,200,000,000 a year on defence?

ON BACK PAGE

## "Deport him" call as British MP enters Rhodesia

From BASIL DELAINE

Peace News Correspondent in Central Africa

LUSAKA, Tuesday, April 2.

JAMES JOHNSON, the British Member of Parliament on a fact-finding tour of Northern Rhodesia at the invitation of the African National Congress, has nettled the average British settler with blunt, pertinent statements on African advancement.

Even before Mr. Johnson had landed at Lusaka, a Salisbury business man had called for his deportation on arrival.

Now the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, has jumped on the wagon with a slashing attack on Mr. Johnson's speech to African mine-workers on the copperbelt at the week-end.

Hundreds of Africans at Ndola heard Mr. Johnson say:

"I would like to see twice as much spent on African education as on the police.

"You are still under the protection of Her Majesty's Government and there are many people like myself in the House of Commons who watch over you and are studying your conditions."

Mr. Johnson also caused annoyance among European circles in the Copperbelt by telling Africans at Kitwe that he was disappointed to find that in the centre of the mining industry there was no technical college for African mine-workers.

On Mr. Johnson's bold, logical utterances, Sir Roy Welensky has placed the tag "offensive."

Referring to a remark by Mr. Johnson that Africans in Northern Rhodesia might sometimes think they are "fighting alone," the Prime Minister said one might well ask Mr. Johnson what Africans are fighting. According to a Northern News report he said:

"If the suggestion is that they are fighting against their fellow citizens in the Federation, I take the greatest exception to his remarks.

"I would remind Mr. Johnson," Sir Roy Welensky continued, "that the House of Commons and the United Kingdom Government have had considerable opportunity to demonstrate their desire to aid Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in days gone by."

Genial Mr. Johnson had the viciousness of the colour bar in Northern Rhodesia brought home to him yesterday when his hosts, Mr. Harry Nkumbula and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda were attacked by European men in a Kitwe cafe.

#### NKUMBULA MENACED

Mr. Nkumbula, who is President of the African Congress in N. Rhodesia, wanted to buy some cigarettes. The shop assistant refused to serve him and told him to wait outside and be served through a hatch.

When Mr. Nkumbula asked for normal service a European customer got up and struck both of these distinguished African leaders.

Outside the cafe more white men attacked Mr. Nkumbula and Mr. Kaunda.

Policemen took Mr. Nkumbula to a police station, where, he alleges, a European police officer slapped his face.

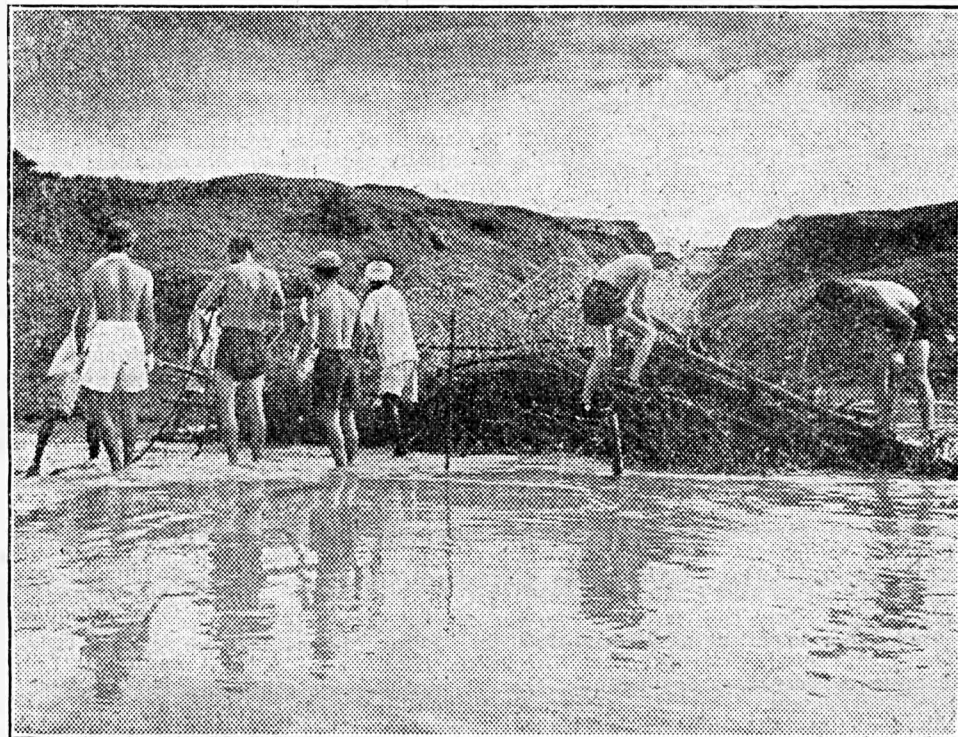
"The officer," said Mr. Nkumbula, "menacingly took off his belt and called me a cheap boy."

Earlier this year Mr. Nkumbula led a campaign to break the colour bar in Lusaka by entering cafes and asking to be served.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, "No. 2 man in the N. Rhodesian African Congress," was refused a passport when he wished to attend the Asian Socialist Conference in Bombay last November.

Mr. Kaunda, a British Protected Person, was told by a Government official "The issue of a passport is a matter for discretion and cannot be claimed as a right."

Mr. Johnson, a schoolteacher, was elected Labour MP for Rugby in 1950. He is 48, has served on Coventry City Council and is a member of the National Union of Teachers and the Fabian Society.



Work campers at Kengeri, India, clearing bamboo sticks which blocked a bridge as the result of a flood. See page six.



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## WAR ON WANT

**WE** have already referred here to the rejection by Britain and the United States of the Russian proposal that there shall be co-operation by the Powers in the development of the Middle East countries "without political or military conditions."

Let us say at once that we do not know whether the Russian offer is a sincere one. There is so much duplicity and insincerity on both sides that it is, of course, possible that this Russian proposal was merely a piece of propaganda that was destined to be submerged in the usual cold war manoeuvring for "positions of strength" had it come to be seriously examined.

Nevertheless, we hold that it was the clear duty of the Western Powers to see that it was examined and tested out to the full in genuine discussion; for there is little use in trying to deal with the problem of the underdeveloped countries, of waging a "War on Want," in isolation from the cold war struggle.

The two things are bound up together; it is possible to have one or the other, but not both at once.

The story of the impact upon the consciences of the peoples of the industrially advanced countries of the realisation of the poverty and undernourishment existing among the majority of the people of the world is a sorry one. Again and again generous impulses have found expression in well-intentioned proposals, which have then been permitted to shrivel and wither in the atmosphere of the cold war.



**THERE** was President Truman's Point Four, an attempt to bring a sense of human brotherhood into statesmanship. Cold war requirements, however, rapidly demanded that this should be transformed into "mutual security aid"; the power struggle had to take precedence of mere human sympathy.

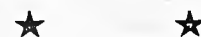
The late Senator McMahon began a wonderfully imaginative campaign for proposals in the fulfilment of which the US would offer a sum equal to £10,000,000,000 annually for five years to be devoted to the assistance of the underdeveloped countries in accordance with the Point Four idea, and for the development of economic aid for the world in general through the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Incidentally, he specifically included territories of Russia and the Russian satellites as possible beneficiaries. Senator McMahon was found work, however, necessary in the pursuance of the cold war struggle, and his inspiring conception was quietly allowed to drop.

Walter Reuther also, as President of the US Union of Automobile Workers and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, propounded in 1950 a similarly, generously conceived plan based on and undertaking to make available through UN a sum of 13,000,000,000 dollars yearly for a period of 100 years. Equally with the proposal of Senator McMahon, very little persistency was shown in the advocacy of this plan. Walter Reuther, like Senator McMahon, became more pre-occupied with the demands of the cold war and the power struggle.

The sums mentioned above have, of course, a much closer relationship to what is needed than anything that has been contemplated in this country. A UN report on "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," says Sir Richard Acland and Leslie Hale in "Tanks Into Tractors," offers a table that gives a general indication of what is required:

"For the 1,500,000,000 people living in Latin America, Africa, Indonesia and all Asia outside Japan and the USSR they estimate that an investment of some £6,786,000,000 a year would be required for a two per cent annual increase of living standards. Towards this these people today save from their own resources some £1,786,000,000, leaving some £5,000,000,000 to be found from outside."



**ALTHOUGH** the need to help the underdeveloped countries has been formally recognised for some years in the British Labour Party statements, there has been very little attempt to show from where the necessary resources were to be derived.

Recent declarations of Mr. Gaitskell that Britain ought to devote one per cent of the national income to this purpose (which would mean a yearly sum of approximately £132,000,000) brings little more solidity into the matter than there has been hitherto; but the Council for "War on Want," which is holding its conference in London on April 6, must recognise that so long as Britain continues to arm in accordance with the demands of the present power struggle (even on the reduced scale now in contemplation) no resources will be found for waging a war on want.

We shall have to make a choice. Which war do we wish to prepare for?

## Colonial Africa's mood today

by Dr. HOMER JACK  
Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa

**THE** independence of Ghana has aided African independence movements in several ways.

First, the example of an independent Ghana will not soon be forgotten, by Africans from Dakar to Johannesburg, or by White colonials from the Ivory Coast to Mozambique.

Second, the proposed conference of independent African States which Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah will call, while conceived to achieve "an African personality in international affairs," will by its very nature encourage the independence movements all over the continent.

Third, the Ghana celebrations brought together representatives from many African nationalist movements who may have known each other by reputation, but had never met before. Ghana made it possible for them to confer and even to exchange techniques.

### CONFERENCE OF AFRICA

Perhaps the most important outcome of the Ghana celebrations has been the least publicised. Out of the convergence of the independence leaders of several territories in Africa has come the plan of the Convention People's Party of Ghana to convene a conference of the political and nationalist movements in both the free and colonial areas of Africa.

This will not be part of the conference on the official level, but might become more important as leaders come from Central Africa and West Africa to consider ways and means for self-government.

Sentimentally, this conference will be called the Sixth Pan-African Congress. The fifth was held in Manchester in 1945 and a West African

by the name of Kwame Nkrumah was a joint secretary! The forthcoming conference will be the first time that a Pan-African Congress has been held on African soil.

With this Congress as a background for the future, what is the mood of colonial Africa today? Here are some brief notes after talking to delegates at Accra and also after brief visits to several of these countries along the equator.

Tanganyika, now a UN mandate territory, will be self-governing within ten years. Julius Nyerere, president of the African National Union, is one of the wisest African leaders I met. As for any federation of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, he said this: "To us Africans, federation is a frightening idea and can be a method of White domination." What struck Nyerere most about his ten days in Ghana? The good humour in Parliament between members of the Opposition and of the Government!

Nyerere studied Gandhi and, at first, he didn't find Satyagraha a convincing method. Now, however, he is a convinced Gandhian. He also feels that, in a mandated territory, another relevant method is "to convince the United Nations that we Africans are right."

Nyerere can be very convincing. He admits that tribalism is a problem in his territory, as in Ghana and many places in Africa, but he shrewdly remarked: "One good thing about colonialism is that it tends to create

**THE** decision of the British Government to release Archbishop Makarios from detention in the Seychelles is a welcome step in the right direction, and the enthusiasm with which the news was greeted by the Cypriots indicated not only their pleasure at the liberation of their leader but also their desire to be friends again with the British and forget the unhappy events of the past two years as quickly as possible.

It is to be hoped that Britain will follow up the release of the Archbishop with a speedy relaxation of the Emergency Regulations so that all those who are in detention in Cyprus for political reasons may also be released and a suitable atmosphere created for the resumption of negotiations.

Now that Britain has admitted that there is no solution to the Cyprus problem without Makarios, it is to be hoped that it will also be realised that no solution will satisfy the majority of Cypriots unless it includes the right of self-determination in the near future.

It is difficult for the Cypriots to regard NATO as an acceptable mediator as most of the members of NATO have consistently opposed the Greek appeals to the United Nations on the Cyprus question.

Direct negotiations with the Archbishop and other Cypriot leaders should begin as soon as possible.

The British desire to reach a settlement through NATO on the future status of Cyprus before resuming discussions with the Cypriots is another indication of the belief that the military requirements of Britain and the Western Powers are of far more importance than the rights, aspirations and real interests of the Cypriot people.

Although there probably are many Cypriots who would be willing to accept the continued existence of bases in Cyprus as long as political union with Greece was achieved, there are thousands who regard the bases as a menace to their security and inconsistent with the real freedom of Cyprus.

In 1955 over 100,000 Cypriots signed a petition against the continuation of military bases, and the views of one-third of the adult population should not be ignored.

### Tangled issues

**THE** Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice was embodied as an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations, and by Article 93 all members of UN are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the Court. It is not only open to parties to a dispute to take the matter in question to the Hague Court but either the General Assembly or the Security Council is entitled to ask the Court for an opinion, but in these cases it is taken as advisory.

There are a number of tangled international issues that we believe could, with great advantage, be referred to the International Court.

We recently remarked that it had been reported that the Indian Government was considering whether it should submit certain aspects of the Kashmir dispute to the Court. Nothing has since been reported about this and it is understandable that the Indian Government desired to get the elections out of the way before taking an initiative in this matter. We wish, however, that it would now take this step. It is an initiative that would do a great deal to re-establish and reinforce the influence for good of India in international affairs.

Colonel Nasser has recently been represented as having declared his willingness to have the Egypt and Israeli rights in the Gulf of Aqaba settled by the Court.

### No loss of face

**NATIONS** are, of course, reluctant to submit to the International Court issues that they regard as of great importance because the decision

## Cyprus World Court France & Suez

may go against them. Behind direct negotiations they can always keep the threat of force.

When such questions are submitted to the arbitration of war, however, it is equally evident that the decision must go against one side or the other. The difference—apart from the costliness in human life of the method of war—is that there is also a considerable chance that in war the decision may go against both parties to the dispute. The best way to settle disputes is through conciliation and compromise. Where the fostering of a clamant public opinion has made conciliation difficult as in India over the Kashmir question, and as in Egypt over Israeli rights in the Gulf of Aqaba—adjudication by the International Court has the advantage that it takes the matter out of the hands of the national negotiators. An adverse decision from the International Court can be accepted without the loss of face that attaches to "appeasement."

Speaking recently on the question of the Gulf of Aqaba, President Eisenhower made the comment that it should be regarded as an open international waterway "unless there were a contrary opinion by the World Court". The Egyptian Government has based its exclusion of Egyptian shipping on the ground that Israel had violated the armistice between Egypt and Israel, and this entitled Egypt to belligerent rights in the Gulf. The issue should be used

to produce from the Egyptian Government a statement whether it holds that it is in a permanent state of war with Israel.

### Bromberger revelations

**IT** will need more than the very incomplete denial by a Quay d'Orsay spokesman on March 29 to dispose of the allegations of untrue official statements, of collusion with Israel and of muddle between Paris and London, made in the Bromberger book, "The Secrets of the Egyptian Expedition".

Extensive pre-publication extracts from the book, which is the joint work of the brothers Merry and Serge Bromberger, have been appearing in Le Figaro and Paris Presse and causing a major sensation in France. Both Brombergers are journalists of good standing and both took part as war correspondents in the Port Said landings in November. Of some of the events, therefore, they speak as actual eye-witnesses. If their statements displayed an anti-French Government tendency, there might be reasonable grounds for caution about its "revelations".

Such, however, is not the case. The writers have nothing whatever to say against the adventure itself, with which they were evidently in full agreement. It is the British Government that is held mainly responsible for the failure, partly because it would not subscribe to undisputed support for Israel before the Israeli invasion of Egypt, and partly because Sir Anthony Eden would not agree, on Nov. 6, to M. Mollet's urgent plea to delay the cease-fire recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly by the extra 24 hours necessary in the French view to ensure complete control over the Canal area.

It is the exact recital of dates, of alternative plans of campaign and of disagreements between the French and British commands followed by compromise solutions, which render the book convincing. Sir Anthony Eden emerges as more cautious in the whole scheme than M. Mollet, but in the end he took his full share in the reckless gamble on world reaction to the Franco-British invasion of Egypt.

Two particularly bad shocks, which are quite different in character, await the reader. The first is to learn of the "long months of preparation" for the whole undertaking, presented when it had been launched as a necessary operation to divide two sudden belligerents; the second, to find that despite repeated personal telephone conversations (without three-minute pips from the exchange to say that time was up) between the Prime Ministers of Britain and France, they could get themselves into a hopeless muddle on a vital issue on Nov. 6.

## From the Editor's Notebook

If I am a C.O. . . ?

**THE** Pacifist Forum had to grapple with the shipbuilding strike, help for victims of aggression, the pros and cons of non-resistance and non-violent resistance and questions of economics and politics when it met for the first time last week.

The panel were on their toes and I felt that the young men in the audience seemed well satisfied with the answers given.

I was glad the panel dealt quite tenderly with the question: "If I am a conscientious objector and, if after all my efforts for peace, war does break out, ought I not to join up with the majority and join in fighting to defend my country?"

Literature sales were good, one young man spending nearly £1 on pamphlets.

The next Forum will be on Thursday, April 25, at 6.45 p.m. in one of the rooms of Friends House, Euston.

### A mighty fine story

**THE** Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, was greeted with these words when he met the US Vice-President in Ghana recently:

"I recognised you from your picture on the cover of Time (the American weekly news magazine). That was a mighty fine story about you."

The four-page story on February 18 seems to me to be one of the great pacifist documents of the century. I hope it can be widely reprinted.

It records, among many incidents, the occasion when King's home was dynamited by whites and a furious crowd of Negroes which had gathered outside were threatening officials and police.

King, hastily summoned from a meeting told the angry crowd:

"Please be peaceful. We believe in law and order. We want to love our enemies. Be good to them . . ."

Said a policeman who was there: "I was terrified. I owe my life to that nigger preacher, and so do all the other white people who were there."

Time magazine told its readers: "With every new outbreak of violence inevitably followed by a reassuring word of non-violence from King, white opinion grew stronger for accepting bus integration in an orderly way. The bus fight was to all practical effect over."

### Thin edge of the wedge?

**WHEN** during the war pacifists found a chance to work out their ideas in the social field they laid the foundations for Family Service Units and a sweeping change in the approach to problem families.

In 1957 I notice that more and more pacifists are taking up posts in Africa, especially in the field of education.

Will this too have equally significant results?

From Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, comes news that a Fellowship of Reconciliation group has been formed.

Leighton Yates, a British For member, who went out there as Professor of Physics at the new University College reports that Dr. Ted Swart of Pretoria, S. Africa, is with him as Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry and is "an extremely valuable addition" to the group.

### PN goes to school

"I am a teacher, and want them for my lessons," was the explanation offered by a German school teacher when ordering 25 copies of the Gandhi memorial number of Peace News.



## HEAVY SENTENCE ON C.O. REDUCED

The case reported below by Our Special Correspondent has a special significance. It is the first successful appeal for the reduction of a sentence of less than 12 months imprisonment.

**THE Recorder at Worcester Quarter Sessions** looked a little surprised when defending counsel, Mr. Douglas Draycott, asked him on March 18 not to reduce his client's sentence below three months.

The appeal was that of Frank D. Howells, of Ludlow (Salop), against a sentence of nine months' imprisonment imposed by Worcester Magistrates' Court on January 24, when he had refused to submit to a medical examination under the National Service Acts.

Frank Howells had registered provisionally as a conscientious objector with his age group. At that time he was working at Walsall Wood Colliery and as a coal miner was given indefinite deferment.

When he left the colliery in order to take up full-time preaching with Jehovah's Witnesses, he became liable for call-up and was heard by first a Local and then the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

The second of these had recognised his conscientious objection but had ordered that he do non-combatant duties in the Army.

### Previous case

This decision Frank Howells was unable to accept and consequently when called for his "medical" he refused, was prosecuted and sent down for nine months at Worcester.

His was the second case in recent months where Worcester Magistrates' Court had passed heavy sentences on boys under twenty-one who for religious scruple were unwilling to go into the Army.

In the previous case Dando Wood had had a sentence of twelve months reduced to six by this same Recorder, last June. Nor was the Recorder slow to remember this case. He recalled that on that occasion he had gone to the trouble of looking up the decisions of similar cases throughout the country for he supposed that justice was in part dependent on the same measure being applied throughout the land.

With an unblemished character, a sincerity that was admitted even by the prosecuting counsel and an impressive list of precedents that showed as little as a £50 fine being substituted for a twelve months' sentence at London Quarter Sessions, the appellant might be expected to ask for a minimum sentence. But, as Mr. Douglas Draycott explained, if a three months' sentence were given, Howells would then have the right to appeal to the Appellate Tribunal for a re-hearing, where his conscientious objection might be fully recognised.

"Do Jehovah's Witnesses usually object to non-combatant duties as much as to other forms of military service?"

Mr. Draycott thought they did.

"A difference with no distinction, as it were," commented the Recorder.

### No substantial difference

Defending counsel concluded his case by pointing out that Frank Howells had disobeyed the law because of religious principle, very different from "the coward, the selfish, anti-social and persistent defier of the law," and asked that the sentence be reduced to as little more than three months as the Recorder felt justified.

In a brief summing-up the Recorder expressed his appreciation of both counsels' assistance in dealing with the intricacies of the Act, and said that he had looked into previous cases with some interest. He saw no substantial difference between this and the case of Dando Wood where he had a few months ago reduced the sentence to six months, so that was his decision in the case.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, who had sponsored this appeal, feel the reduction was as much as they could expect in the circumstances.

"Previous appeals had always been directed against sentences of twelve months and it was mainly because this case seemed on all fours with the recent appeal of Dando Wood at Worcester that we had had hopes of success," the Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors explained. "We can only hope that the authority of these two cases will have some influence with Worcester Magistrates."

The Recorder for Worcester Quarter Sessions, Mr. Robert G. Micklethwait, QC, served in the Royal Observer Corps, 1938-40, and was Civil Assistant to the War Office, 1940-45.

## Britain a "sitting duck" says Rear-Admiral

**REAR-ADMIRAL S. A. Pears**, former President of the Ordnance Board (the body which decides what armaments the Services shall have) condemned Britain's policy of competing in the nuclear weapons race when addressing a congregation at Penshurst (Kent) Parish Church earlier this year.

"I want to make you aware what we—that is all parties in Parliament and the nation—are planning to do.

"We are developing and manufacturing the means whereby to murder millions of innocents indiscriminately."

He felt that Britain would suffer most in any nuclear weapon war and said: "There has never been a time when the first blow counted for much and this compact little country makes a sitting duck compared with the wide open spaces of Russia and America."

## THE MEETING BETWEEN VINOBA BHAVE AND MRS. CHESTER BOWLES

## Bhoodan: positive and constructive non-violence

The meeting, in India, between Vinoba Bhave (affectionately known as Vinobaji), a close disciple of Gandhi and inspirer of the Bhoodan (Land Gift Movement), with Mrs. Chester Bowles, wife of a former US ambassador to India, took place in February. Several millions of acres of land have been collected by Bhoodan which calls upon the people to contribute a portion of their holding for redistribution to those with little or no land of their own. By asking for land donations, Bhoodan aims, too, to bring about a peaceful social revolution through a change of heart. "Gramdan," referred to by Vinoba, is the giving of all the land in a village into common ownership. "Satyagraha," mentioned in the discussion, means literally, holding fast to truth or truth force and was Gandhi's own term to describe his doctrine of non-violence.

**MRS. CHESTER BOWLES** came to see Vinoba last month. She is one of the signatories to the Bhoodan Well Fund Appeal in England and America. Mrs. Bowles expressed regret for her husband's inability to come to see Vinoba. She said that he was very happy to know that the movement was making progress, and Gramdans were being obtained.

Mrs. Bowles asked whether there was any substantial progress made in the villages under the Community Projects schemes. Vinoba said: "They are achieving results in their own way but no real progress can be made until the problem of poverty is solved."

"What is your solution, Vinoba?" Mrs. Bowles asked. "My solution obviously, is that there should be Gramdan before such extensive welfare schemes are undertaken."

Vinoba explained how the Development Officers in Madras had become interested in furthering the cause of Gramdan. They had realised that it helps them in their welfare work.

Mr. Harris, Mrs. Bowles's secretary, asked if the Bhoodan approach was capable of finding solutions to the problems of Western countries.

### UNIVERSAL APPLICATION

Vinoba said, "I have always said that Bhoodan has a universal application. Have I not said that Australia should welcome the Japanese to come and settle over the wide empty spaces in Australia? The thought behind Bhoodan is related to world problems and the way of its application can always be found."

"But while some countries are rich in raw materials and other natural resources, others are comparatively poor. Can the principle of free exchange be applied there?" Mrs. Bowles asked.

"Of course," Vinoba said, "there must be free exchange of raw materials and natural resources. Articles of primary necessities, however, should be manufactured locally in the village itself. Exchange will take place in articles which are secondary."

Sri Aryanyakamji who had just returned from Sevagram (Gandhi's village) brought the news that 52 villages had been donated in the Kolhapur District. In spite of the fact that this had happened a week earlier, the news had only just appeared in a Bombay Marathi daily paper as a small news item.

At this, the visitors expressed their surprise and said that if even ten villages were to sur-

render their ownership rights in this way in America, the whole nation would consider it a miracle and the news would appear on the front page with a big headline.

Mrs. Bowles then informed Vinoba that Martin Luther King, the Negro leader who successfully fought for the Negroes' right of travelling on the American buses on a non-segregation basis, was coming to India to meet him and walk with him in his trek.

"It is the first spark of light. Such a thing has never happened in America before. I would like to know, how these sparks appearing all over the world, including South Africa and America, can be combined."

"God will do that through individuals like you," said Vinoba. "That is one of your missions, carrying good news from here to there and from there to here."

Mrs. Bowles asked, "What place do you see Vinoba for Satyagraha in the present democratic set up of India?"

Vinoba said, "The type of Satyagraha which we practised in the days of Gandhi was of a negative character. He asked the British to quit India. That was natural in the circumstances."

### FAITH AND CONVICTION

"But now, when we ourselves are the rulers, Satyagraha should be positive and constructive. I hope that Gramdan will show the way to a better kind of Satyagraha. People will slowly understand what is conversion and what is compulsion and they will soon realise that there is no necessity for compulsion."

"In a democratic country Satyagraha should be a positive and an elevating force. We have to go on reforming ourselves. There can be no question of 'ending.'"

"We have with us our old experience and the new method of a positive Satyagraha will emerge out of it. Our negative Satyagraha was able to secure freedom for us, but it has not been able to generate positive and effective non-violent force."

"People do not yet feel that there is a positive force of love. We have to cultivate that faith and conviction in the potency of love and non-violence."

—From "Bhoodan," organ of the Land Gift Movement.

## Youth Parliament votes for disarmament

by ALISTAIR GRAHAM

A MOTION urging total disarmament, proposed by the Pacifist Youth Action Group, was passed by the West London Youth Parliament recently, after amendment by the Liberal group in the Parliament.

The motion read: "In view of the latest developments in military weapons, the only rational course is total disarmament."

David Lane proposed the motion on behalf of the Pacifist Youth Action Group. He said that when the last war ended, we were told that what had happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was so catastrophic that it could never happen again. There were people today, still suffering from the explosions. He said, we had to get to the root of the problem. It was simple—wars will cease when men refuse to fight.

Mr. Lane added that if he said this in Russia he would probably be shut away. This brought an objection from Mr. Ruxton Hayward, who accused the proposer of bringing in "red herrings."

### BAN NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS AMENDMENT

Mr. Alistair Graham (Liberal) followed, giving support to the motion. He told how the previous week he had lobbied his MP at the House of Commons. The MP had shown a "couldn't care less" attitude to the H-bomb tests. "If the MP for Fulham could see how the young people in his constituency and neighbouring areas were thinking, he would soon change his tune," concluded Mr. Graham.

Miss Barbara Burwell (Liberal) said she was surprised that the resolution was so feeble. Why did not the motion actually state that the H-bomb should be banned? Following her speech, Mr. Alistair Graham then proposed the amendment to the standing motion that added: "As a first step to this end we call for the banning of all nuclear weapon tests."

Colin Johnson (Communist) opposed the amendment, and accused the pacifists of dragging in "horror stories." Terence Chivers, secretary of the PYAG and member of Peace News staff, said that youth should take the initiative into their own hands. He advocated non-violent means, as used by Gandhi to fight those who worked for war.

The amendment was finally accepted, and the motion was passed with three abstentions. It was announced that the next meeting of the Parliament would be held on May 7.



JENS KLEINERT

## FIRST GERMAN C.O.

from Hans Konrad Tempel

**THE** first German legally-recognised conscientious objector has appeared before a Tribunal and has been granted conditional exemption.

He is Jens Kleinert, a 19-year-old member of the War Resisters' International. He appeared before Hamburg Tribunal on March 18.

Kleinert, who had attended several meetings held by the Hamburg WRI for the first COs, had no difficulty in answering the questions put to him by the Chairman of the Tribunal. He said that he was opposed to any violence between nations, and in no circumstance could he kill or help to kill his fellow-man.

Two days later, another 19-year-old, Schneider, became the second German CO to be recognised by the Tribunal. He, too, was granted conditional exemption.

Children of the "Sons of Freedom," a Doukhobor sect who live in Canada, were withheld from the State schools by their parents because these schools "teach" war and militarism. In the Autumn of 1955 the children were forcibly separated from their parents and despite protests and court cases are still kept in a dormitory school.

April 5, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## CAN PEACE NEWS HELP . . . ?



"CAN you make it known that 17 Barbados seamen are being victimised because they refused to prepare their ship for Suez when the fighting started . . . ?

"Can you do something to get the H-tests stopped . . . ?

"Can you help our imprisoned friends in Iraq . . . ?

"Shootings are still taking place at our farm here in Georgia . . ."

"Could I have a free copy of Peace News. I am an Indian student of non-violence working with Vinoba Bhave . . . ?" (Our "pass-on" scheme looks after such requests.)

But there are the other letters too: "We are grateful for your coverage of our son's struggle for freedom of conscience. We are enclosing \$5 for the Peace News Fund."

"Having recently become a regular reader of Peace News I would like you to accept this small contribution of 10s. . . ."

. . . Ten shillings. If every reader could send us this amount at some period during 1957 we could stop worrying about making ends meet. But some of our readers are Africans, others live in India and other countries where 10s. may be their week's wages.

How about you? What part can you play in making sure that Peace News appears each week for 1957?

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since March 8: £22 1s. 5d.

Total since January 1, 1957: £337 5s. 3d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Anon, 3s.; from Isleworth, 1s.; from Blackburn, £1; Three Friends, 12s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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## The hazards of nuclear tests

by **PROFESSOR LIONEL PENROSE**

The writer is Galton Professor of Eugenics at University College, London, and a former Director of Psychiatric Research in Canada. He is the author of "The Influence of Heredity," and "The Biology of Mental Defect." Professor and Mrs. Penrose are joint Hon. Treasurers of the War Resisters' International.

**THE** long term biological effects of the radioactive substances which contaminate the world's atmosphere after nuclear explosions are of two kinds.

First there are changes produced in the germ cells which can be passed on from one generation to another. These are termed genetical effects and they inevitably occur even when the exposure to radiation is small. Discussions and arguments between scientists on this question are concerned mainly with estimating the quantity of the damage produced by a given exposure not on the fundamental principle.

The precise genetical effects of large doses of radiation are not in much doubt but there is a great deal of difficulty in estimating the effects of very small doses spread over very extensive populations—this is the situation produced by test explosions.

According to present knowledge, the normal risks for the offspring in succeeding generations are only very slightly modified by the tests which have already taken place or which are contemplated. An eventual increase of one per cent in the sum total of existing hereditary diseases is believed to be an absolute maximal result, even if such nuclear tests as are made at present should continue indefinitely. Such an increase (i.e., 101 cases where there were previously 100) would be very difficult to detect in a small population and it could probably pass unnoticed in a country as large as our own. It would be overshadowed by fluctuations caused by other factors such as medical and industrial uses of radiation. The genetical effects of exploding, say one nuclear device are, therefore, in this sense, "insignificant" as stated in the Report of the Medical Research Council. The total number of new cases of hereditary disease caused in a generation of many millions, might nevertheless be quite large—especially so if the whole world population were taken into consideration.

### Effect of Strontium 90

**THE** second type of long term effects of radiation from nuclear tests are those which only appear in the exposed individual himself. They depend upon the absorption into the body, through food, of peculiar radioactive substances not met with in civil life. The most important substance of this kind, Strontium 90, decays very slowly and reaches the ground after a nuclear explosion by way of rain; it contaminates all vegetation and, when this is consumed by animals, Strontium is eventually deposited in their bones. It remains radioactive and after some years it may cause bone diseases which include some types of cancer. Until recently it was thought that very low concentrations of Strontium 90, such as those now appearing in people as a consequence of test explosions, could not cause any damage at all. Evidence brought forward concerning the effects of X-rays upon the incidence of leukaemia, however, suggest that for cancers in general, the rules are similar to those which hold for genetical changes. That is, very small doses or concentrations have effects proportional to those of larger doses.

Thus, it seems likely that the hazards of small doses of Strontium 90 received by people all over the world will be subject to the same kind of inexorable logic which governs genetical hazards.

If so, a number of fresh cases of bone tumours especially in children may be expected to occur in due course as a direct consequence of each nuclear device exploded. The cases will, of course, be scattered all over the whole world population, which is fifty times that of Great Britain. The actual increase in incidence of bone disease will be very difficult, perhaps impossible to detect in any given area, or even in the whole of our country, but the total number of cases induced in the world would be very far from negligible.

### Mental suffering

**FROM** the point of view of human health, every single extra case of severe hereditary disease or of cancer in an individual is an abominable thing. For this reason, pollution of the atmosphere by nuclear tests is to be deplored. Discussion of the long term hazards of radiation, however, tends to draw attention away from many other cogent arguments against H-bomb tests. Some of these points seem to be neglected because they are at the same time too obvious and also too unpleasant to mention. Every military test carried out implies willingness in certain circumstances to participate in nuclear war. The short and long term biological effects of war using these weapons would be incalculably disastrous. The immediate results would be so frightful that even the threat of using them can cause almost intolerable mental suffering to those so threatened. At some point in this insane race towards human destruction a country aspiring to greatness must show restraint if the menace is to be controlled. Why should not Britain seize this moment to benefit mankind by abandoning its military demonstrations of atomic power and confining attention to constructive uses and the limitation of radioactive hazards in civil life?

# FAILURE OF VIOLENCE

by **Dr. Martin Niemöller**

"The failure of violence—the challenge of pacifism" was the theme of the meeting held at Friends House on Tuesday, March 26, at which Dr. Martin Niemöller, Marjorie Lewis, Leslie Hale, MP, and Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale spoke to an audience of 1,500. The chairman was Dr. Soper, and Stuart Morris chaired the overflow meeting in an adjoining hall.

The following is the text of Dr. Niemöller's speech.

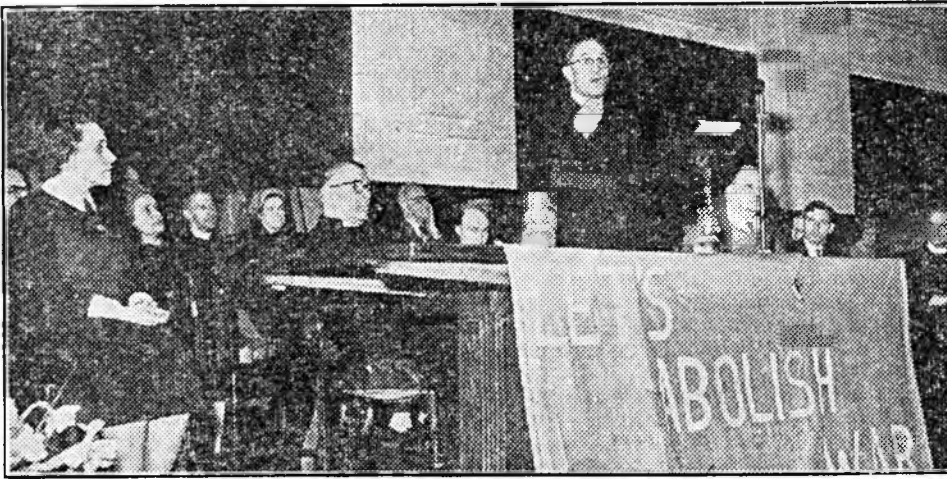
**ARE** we entitled to state: "Violence has failed?" Can we really make such a statement with a view to Europe today?

The spirit of violence is certainly not dead in this part of the world; on the contrary, we are facing a rebirth of this violent spirit in a number of countries in that area. When the Suez crisis occurred and when the Hungarian uprising reached its peak and turningpoint, the cry went out from many parts of Europe for military assistance to the oppressed populations, suffering from tyranny and totalitarianism.

### Hungary

It was quite significant, that the first question put to me on my return from the USA at the beginning of December, 1956, was: "How can you continue being a pacifist after what has happened in Hungary?" The questioner was rather surprised at my answer: "How can you continue defending the policy of strength after what has happened in Hungary?"

Once again brutal force had succeeded and triumphed, as it seemed; but it would have succeeded in any case; and this questioner would have put his question in just the same way, if the outcome in Hungary had been a clear success and victory for the anti-Communist revolution.



Marjorie Lewis (left) and Dr. Soper, the chairman listen as Dr. Niemöller speaks

But, the fact stands, that the pendulum has swung back: after 1945 everybody was tired of war and violence, and it was regarded as being in good taste, when you favoured pacifist ideas and expressed your contempt for everything heroic and militant. This is no longer the general trend, but it is quite normal again to advocate nationalistic and militaristic ideas and views.

I think that I am right in saying that this is the case—more or less—in the whole of Central Europe.

The rearming of Western Germany only a few years ago seemed a real venture, since public opinion was strongly opposed to any

kind of violence in politics and international relations; now rearmament and even general conscription has become mere routine work with scarcely any problem attached to it. This change is obvious, and it must be understood basically as a natural psychological reaction: people had hoped for better days to come, for new standards to be set up, for justice and peace to spread. Now, instead they feel deceived and robbed of their hopes—at least those who have lost their homes, their property, their profession, etc. Hence the cry, "Cheat the cheater! Rob the robber! Kill the killer!" And the onlookers, shunning and shoving off their own responsibility, can easily join in the chorus and blame the scapegoat, which on this side of the Iron Curtain is the Bolshevik system, and on the other side the Capitalist system.

But, this was only the first step of a reactionary development. We are fast turning back to the old nationalist prejudices and feelings.

### Rearmament

It has become quite common again to speak of Russians and Americans, of French and British and Poles as "enemies." Rearmament and armament seem to be nothing more than just the consequence of this mental attitude: if you have enemies, you have to have arms; and your position in such a world is better—if not safer—with arms than without!

We are passing through an era of restoration of the military outlook which can easily be traced throughout the European continent of today—and through all spheres of life also. The best and clearest sign that this restoration is pervading the whole texture of human society is in the realm of theology, where today you may read headlines like this in a Church-paper: "The Heresy of Power-condemnation." Or you may find a Lutheran Bishop, a world figure, solemnly declaring and proclaiming the "end of the Theology of Disarmament."

There is no misunderstanding; this Bishop is not proclaiming the failure and end of the international policy of disarmament, but the

generally acknowledged fact; people in Europe today are turning back to the old standards, disappointed in their longing for a change, which they had hoped for, but which never became true.

Still—violence has failed during these last 12 years; at least none of the problems that trouble the European nations have been solved by violence, nor are they likely to be solved in this way. We have seen the heroic, violent effort of the people of Hungary to throw off a yoke that they wanted to get rid of. For a moment it seemed that they would succeed, but the end was disastrous since nobody came, nobody could come, to their rescue.

### Non-violence

We have seen something similar—and yet quite different—happening in Poland. And here violence proved to be not even strong enough to prevent a non-violent revolution. I was told the story only a few weeks ago in Warsaw, when we visitors from Germany were shown the little city-palace of Bellevue, if I remember the name rightly. It was here that the dramatic event took place when Khrushchov and Bulganin negotiated with Gomulka about the new course in Poland; and the Russian troops had been ordered to march from all sides on Warsaw, and the Russian General got the news every half hour as to what the exact position of the different units was, and he handed the paper to Khrushchov, and Khrushchov handed it on to Gomulka.

Yet, Gomulka kept silent all the time as to this interruption of the talks; but at last, when the troops had advanced to about 20 miles from the city he rose and announced: "I do not negotiate any further under the pressure and threat of violence, but shall go and tell the people! And the advance of the troops was halted immediately. Violence had failed. It had failed even before it was used."

These two examples may do; I can or could add another one: the rising of the industrial workers in June, 1952, in Berlin, which was hopeful in the beginning, as long as violence was avoided, but which was doomed the very moment fighting started.

### Atomic powers

The failure of violence in all these cases is evident, and the same has to be said as to the causes of this failure: the big powers that today control the European continent cannot afford to start another world war. And fighting in Europe if it cannot be stopped or left alone must result in final disaster and catastrophe. There is a widespread opinion and conviction that Russia never would have dared to intervene in Hungary if Britain and America had not been kept away from Europe by the Suez crisis, because none of the Atomic Powers can run the risk of a war against another Atomic Power, which probably would mean the end, not only of civilization, but of the human race.

Thus, the failure of violence is complete in so far as the Atomic powers are concerned. Smaller nations may go to war against each other without affecting the rest of mankind. As soon as one of the big powers, of the two giants especially, participate in a violent action they will start off the catastrophe.

Failure of violence! It is really a curious thing, a contradiction in itself, that the most powerful nations with the biggest armaments and the most dangerous means of mass destruction are definitely the weakest, and absolutely powerless if and when they want to use violence. Here the failure of violence becomes, and has become, complete! It is no small comfort for the people who live in Central Europe today that war has become very unlikely, since—as things are today—war is

★ ON PAGE FIVE

### RITCHIE CALDER IN NPC JOURNAL

## Ten-year plan for peace

From HUMPHREY S. MOORE

**AN** optimistic view of the prospect for peace is expressed by Ritchie Calder, the science writer and United Nations special commissioner, in the current issue of *One World*. "There will not be a third world war in the next ten years," he boldly declares in the quarterly journal of the National Peace Council, of which he is a vice-president.

He does not forget Lord Beaverbrook's 1938 illusion that "there will be no war this year or next year." But whereas Beaverbrook was merely "trying to wish away disaster," Calder states his reasons not only for his conviction that world war will not come in the next ten years but for his prediction that, "given that respite," it will not come at all.

### UNITED NATIONS

In the first place, "the great Powers have recognised that a nuclear war is a suicide pact." True, there will still be small-scale wars and "incidents", and he does not pretend that they will not be outrages to the true peace-lover. But he takes heart from the fact that in the case of the Suez incident "we who work for peace in this country have succeeded better than, in our moments of discouragement, we had dared to hope." Public opinion compelled the reference of the dispute to the United Nations.

World war over Suez was one of "the things that did not happen because the United Nations existed as the moral sanction which the peace-will of the population could apply to dangerous impulses."

Again, he has no illusion about that body's imperfections nor about its abuse by governments. But it exists, and its specialised agen-

failure and end of the Christian Theology of Disarmament! And the sad thing about all this is that the same persons, the same Christians, who 10 years ago pronounced that "there is no blessing on violence" seem to have forgotten all about it and today are giving their support—as Christians—to the glorification of power and to a theology of armament, even to that climax, similar to the Christian-message of the Bishop of Rome, that it is a Christian duty to serve as a soldier in one's country's armed forces.

There is no use in concealing these deplorable facts from one's eyes. The failure of violence is by no means an admitted and

cies exist for promoting health and welfare and various forms of technical co-operation; and "they are the piles and girders on which we can and must build the secure structure of peace."

"In the next ten years we may be able to modify, strengthen, and consolidate the UN structure, shaping it toward a supranational authority less subject to the whims and mischiefs of contending nations."

### INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY

In the political sphere "statesmen will ignore at their peril the resurgence of the New Peoples. Somehow we have got to get into people's heads that . . . Kipling's 'lesser breeds' are now our next-door neighbours and that we have to get on neighbourly terms with them, for they share with us the resources of this minor planet. No matter how we regard them, how we treat them, or how we rationalise our excuses for trying to keep them in subjection, the inescapable fact of history is that they are on the march."

Meanwhile the centres of another sort of power—energy—are also shifting, "giving opportunity for industrial prosperity to countries hitherto considered 'backward' and, directly or indirectly, producing more food. Food is the great challenge, but if we put as much effort behind the agricultural scientists and agronomists as we have behind the A-bombs and H-bombs, they might 'get a break' and help to match the effects of their colleagues the medical scientists."

\*National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1, 6d.

## DR. SOPER LEADS PROTEST MARCH

**DR. SOPER** again led a large part of his congregation on March 24 through the West End of London in protest against war and military policies. Outside his church he was joined by many other war resisters.

Marching three abreast and carrying posters, the procession was nearly 100 yards long as it filed through the heart of the metropolis. Many hundreds of leaflets advertising the pacifist mass-meeting last Tuesday were distributed.

After marching for fifty minutes Dr. Soper spoke briefly to a most sympathetic crowd of several hundreds off Charing Cross Road. Stressing the need for opposition to the proposed British H-bomb tests, he said: "If only a small proportion of my fellow clergy would take their congregations out through the streets of London there would be a moral revolution."

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# CHALLENGE OF PACIFISM

★ FROM PAGE FOUR

Europe would mean war between America and Russia, would accordingly mean Atomic war, and, therefore, suicide. But, there is another type of violence which may be used and which has been used already for a number of years in Europe as some sort of "Ersatz" for the hot war which cannot be waged. There is the new type of the so-called "cold war," and this is as dangerous and fatal as the first type.

If "hot war" means self-destruction in our days, "cold-war" means the same; only "hot war" kills with the sword, "cold war" kills with poison; "hot war" kills the body, "cold war" kills the soul.

Do you understand? The main instrument of the "cold war" is "propaganda" and propaganda means violence to the soul and to the mind.

The man who becomes a victim of propaganda is no longer human, he does not live a life of his own but becomes a mere function of an alien will, normally we ascribe this method of making man basically inhuman to what we call totalitarianism—to Nazis and to Bolsheviks.

## Cold war

But "cold war" is the same everywhere and uses the same method. Man must not think. He must do what he is ordered to do, he has to fill his place, he has to function. The consequences of "cold war" are the same everywhere: suspicion, enmity, mistrust, hatred.

If the "hot war" today, using its full possibilities, destroys the material basis of human life, the "cold war" destroys the spiritual basis of human life, and even more exactly, since it always uses its full possibilities. There is nothing good in your neighbour on the other side of the fence or borderline, even your fellow-countryman in Eastern Germany—he is your enemy. So the "cold war" wills it, and so, accordingly, propaganda tells you!

And so you accept it, unwittingly at first, then at last with full "conviction," as you think. But you don't think, you only believe you think, because propaganda tells you what you think. Somebody else governs and directs your thinking.

The failure of violence—challenge to pacifism! Here it becomes evident and urgent that we have to rethink and to adapt our understanding of pacifism in this situation.

It will not do just to spread the knowledge, that war and violence will never succeed, will

never change anything in this world for the better, that actually violence has outgrown itself and can no longer be used without endangering the physical existence of the human race and of the globe.

We shall have to acknowledge the fact that even the "cold war" and its methods have grown to such an efficacy that even a "non-violent" violence, used against the human mind and soul may and will become detrimental and ruinous for mankind and its future existence, and that we are called upon to stop this basically inhuman way of "fighting it out."

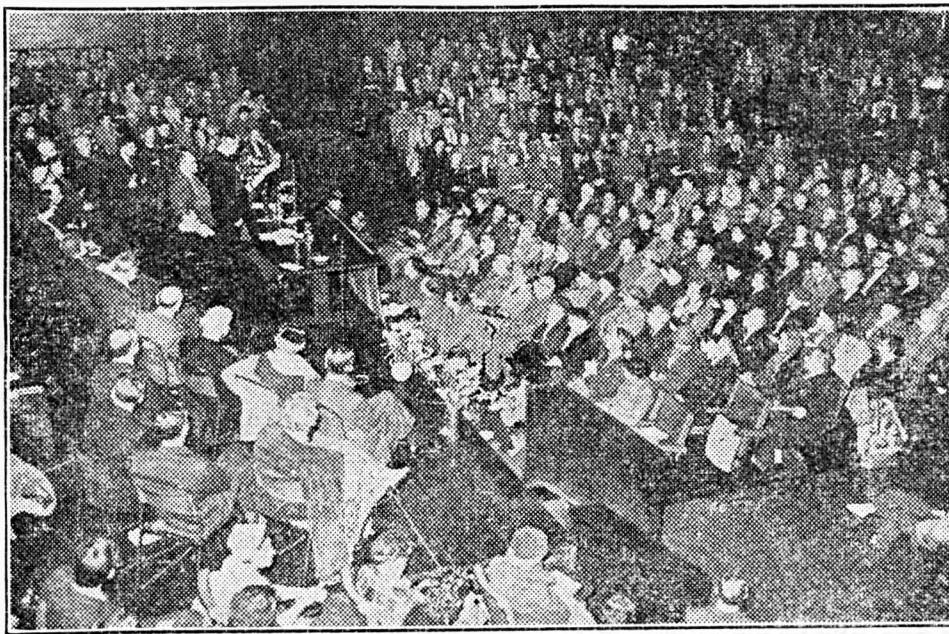
In fact, it is this sort of violence against the human character of men that is the main and

real problem which we have to face today. Human beings are being turned into automations, obeying a tyrant, and still believing that they are they; not different from what we blame the Bolsheviks for.

Pacifism in our day must dig deeper than hitherto and must lay its foundation on solid ground. We actually are challenged to save humanity! For humanity is in danger, in real and deadly danger!

Everything for which pacifism stands, we shall have to stand for also. There is the temptation just to do nothing, since people take it for granted that there will be no war and that the existence of A- and H- and Cobalt-bombs

A general view of the audience at the rally, listening to Dr. Niemoller



## Britain could lead the way to peace

MARJORIE LEWIS

SISTER Marjorie Lewis was the opening speaker at the pacifist rally on March 26 in Friends House, London, attended by 1,500 people and briefly reported in Peace News last week.

Engaged in welfare work in the Methodist Church, she was, said the Chairman, Dr. Donald Soper, "an ardent advocate of the things for which this meeting stands."

Speaking of the development of atomic weapons, she said, "It seems to me we have come to a stage when we can no longer remain silent and we should stand out with everything in us against the increasing preparedness to use once again such dreadful weapons."

We had seen to what ends the path of violence would lead us, Sister Lewis continued. "The real horror of war has been magnified all the time and the world can see it."

"Some say 'It is all very well to say, do away with armaments, etc.—what would happen to us if we did?'"

### STRENGTH OF MORAL POWER

"There is no answer to this but the test of experience."

"If something is not done some day, sometime, someone will set a match to the fire and the world will go up in smoke!"

"In the Suez crisis we saw how easily that could have happened and people were shocked that it could happen so easily without our knowing it could happen."

"It is absolutely certain that if we continue the path we tread, the end will be man's destruction and mutual suicide."

"The way of non-violence has never been tried by a whole nation. It is worth trying as a way of adventure."

"Out of all the stories that came from Hungary I do not think there was one more wonderful than the story of the women who laid wreaths on the war memorial, despite the presence of the Russian tanks."

"There was a moral power behind them which stopped all the tanks and the Russian soldiers from taking action."

### VERY FEW SCOFFERS

"Some say 'What is the good of it all?'" "How can we change things?"

"A good thing no great reformers thought like that."

It was said that public opinion in Britain was against the pacifist point of view and in favour of the H-bomb "as a necessary evil." But Sister Lewis pointed out how sympathetic the crowds were to Dr. Donald Soper's march through the West End on the previous Sunday (March 24).

"When we carried banners saying 'No More War' I was struck by the faces of the people who watched us as we went by. There were very few scoffers. I sensed there was a wistfulness and a longing and a thinking—'If only it would work; if only this cloud of fear could be lifted.'"

Britain could be greater than she had ever been in her history were she to make the great experiment of leading the world to peace.

LESLIE HALE MP

LESLIE HALE, MP, referred to the attitude of the Churches at the time of the First World War when Church leaders exhorted their congregations, in the midst of all the dreadful things they were condoning, to pray that we might be preserved as a Christian people in the duties we were then performing. People turned away from the faith they heard preached then.

"The heart of man was sound," he said, "even if the head was light." He recalled Christmas Day, 1914, when the common man nearly triumphed and stopped the war, for there was fraternisation between German and English troops. In 1919, too, the British soldier did his best to stop the wickedness of the blockade, sharing what food he had with the German people. There was plenty to show that the heart of man was sound.

"It is always the fault, in politics, not of the humble individual but of the leaders."

"Those who survived the war spent a lot of anxious and rather miserable years flouting agnosticism, seeking answers and failing to find them. We discussed whether women and children should be turned out of their homes because their husbands had not behaved, and whether children should be sent to Reformatory Schools for pinching milk from doorsteps, until the original idea presented itself that it might be a good thing to find out why the lads pinched the milk and, further, whether it was right that any child should be short of milk."

### TO MUTUAL TOLERANCE

"We also reached the conclusion that hanging a man does not do him, or society, any good; this is still regarded, in some quarters, as a very progressive view. What is a crime by an individual is a crime by society."

"What is the guilt of a Prime Minister who sends out a lad of 19 to go and murder? And, if it is a crime to kill, it is a crime to let people die of misery, poverty, sickness and suffering which can be prevented. This is the measure of the organised hypocrisy of our society, and until we face up to it we have no right to claim any moral leadership anywhere."

Turning to the "War on Want", Mr. Hale said:

"Let us abandon the old hypocrisy. 'If we believe in the Declaration of Human Rights let us extend it at once to the whole of the territories for which we are responsible."

"If we believe that poverty, frustration, misery and disease are the real enemies of mankind, why not start negotiations at once with the Russians and say: 'Let us talk about the things we agree upon. Let us see which of us is the more sincere and which of us will do most along this road by which we can attain an understanding and mutual tolerance.'"

"We must preach together the doctrine of non-violence and passive resistance. After all, the great victories of history have been achieved by passive resistance. This is the solution of our problem and we have a right to proselytize about it. We must go out into the highways and say: 'We have a faith here which we believe alone can save the world from catastrophe but which promises much more than that; promises to recapture the belief in mankind's future and to advance us to the Federation of the World and to the Parliament of Mankind.'"

in the two main military camps will take care of that. But peace is not something which will come by itself. It has to be created and to be nourished and to be maintained.

The aim of peace is the existence of mankind in a human society, worthy of its name and dedicated to its task that men as sons of God may learn to serve each other for the better rather than to destroy each other in a ruthless struggle for survival.

We call it a "Law of Nature," but the law and will of God is different.

Power and violence have laid the foundations of white man's supremacy; power and violence have reached their climax and are approaching their final end. The time of the "White man" is nearing its end in a few decades to come, the "Coloured People" will outnumber the white people by three—or four—times. They will have to take over and to accept their responsibility. It is our task to see that this happens in peace, good will and friendship.

## Peacemakers

I cannot imagine a greater challenge than the one implied in this prospect. And we ought to look on the continuation of atomic tests from this point and angle of view also: how will these tests affect our relation to the masters of tomorrow? Will they help to make them our friends?

We—the white people—regard ourselves as being the "Christian World"; yet, even this is not true in any strict sense: we have only a sort of Christian background; at least, we know something of the dignity of man as the creature for whom God cares most. It is here that I see the main task which is entrusted to us, and especially to the European nations. We have all been entrusted with the message that according to God's dispensation man should become the master of the earth and not the victim of his own faults and sins. There is the way of Jesus Christ who told us to overcome evil by doing good: so He taught, so He lived, so He died, so He was made Lord of All and so He summoned us to follow in His steps. Did we ever try, really, earnestly, try?

We should not be mere "pacifists" but true "peacemakers." So shall we experience that love, which is stronger even than death!

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BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

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PUBLIC MEETING  
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April 10, 1957

(7.30 p.m. — doors open 7.0 p.m.)

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The Rt. Hon. EARL ATTLEE, OM., CH  
Jo GRIMOND, MP  
Sir ROBERT BOOTHBY, KBE MP  
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of the

### PEACE PLEDGE UNION

which will take place at the

Eldon Hall, Leeds

on April 27 to 28, 1957

April 27 2 p.m.—5 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.—8.30 p.m.  
Amendment to Constitution and Reports.

April 28 10.30 a.m.—12.30 p.m. Policy Motions  
—Any Questions? 2 p.m.—4 p.m.  
Professor Kathleen Lonsdale on "Problems for Pacifists."  
Emergency Resolutions.  
Address by National Chairman.

Groups should appoint their Delegate as soon as possible and return the Green Form with 2s. (8s. if Sunday lunch ticket required) to the General Secretary. Hospitality provided if necessary. Pooled Fares will operate. Individual Members are also welcome and should send 2s. for ticket. Agenda, etc. (8s. if Sunday lunch ticket required). All applications to General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## Liu Chih's mother cried too

From a Correspondent in China

LIMIN and Lili came home from Petita Primary School this afternoon all agog. They had been sending two of their school-mates off to the army.

This is the second year of the draft, the second round of inductions. It was a bright, chilly day in a dry winter. Grey, leafless trees, grey brick and tile buildings with bright blue window frames, the yellow earth and the earthen compound wall, and above all the brilliant sunny sky. Dust-covered little boys and girls in bright cotton-padded winter tunics scuffled around, lining up for the slide and see-saw or the parallel bars at the gate end of the rectangular compound, or kicking shuttlecocks and skipping ropes in everybody's way.

The teachers were busy carrying a desk out of the new office building at the north end and decorating it with somebody's patterned blanket and a water glass holding a spray of artificial flowers. Older students were setting out stools in the front row for guests of honour. Little girls with rouged cheeks and lips and big pink paper bows in their hair darted in and out of the classrooms along the side of the compound. Petita people—old men out for the sun or women with little children tucked inside their tunics, wandered in and out to see if the excitement had started.

### No more wars

Finally everything was arranged, and the audience took their place, the guests in front and the bright little girls behind them, and then orderly rows of red-scarved Pioneers seated cross-legged on the ground, the rest of the students and the idle visitors making an outer fringe.

Miss Chao, the principal, made a speech, then the little girls sang a song. Two of them took two big silk flowers from the table and pinned them on the two middle-aged country women sitting in the seats of honour. One of the women was from Wenchuang, and the other, Liu Chih's mother, our neighbour at Yangweipu.

Liu Chih and the Wenchuang boy stood by the table. A Pioneer came up and recited a poem for them, and another sang a song. Miss Chao presented them each with three story books and a silk Pioneer scarf. Liu Chih's mother cried. Her oldest son was a mason, and she had fondly hoped her second would become an office worker, even though he was only finishing his last year of Primary school at eighteen.

When you think of Johnny Jones and Hans Schmidt and Ivan Popov, think of Liu Chih, too, and a red silk Pioneer scarf, a memento that childhood is over and he is a man, now. Think of Liu Chih's mother, and Ivan's and Hans' and Johnny's and swear by whatever gods you honour that there will be no more wars, no more occupations, no more conscription anywhere, anytime, world everlasting.



## U.N. AGENCIES FIGHT WANT Feeding the hungry— Housing the homeless

by FRED MOORHOUSE

**DURING** the Suez Crisis one of the common forms of defence of the British and French aggression was an attack on the United Nations. "We could not leave things to the UN," declared Eden's supporters, "the UN has had years to do something about peace, and has done nothing."

There has been little evidence since Suez that this hostile attitude to the United Nations has abated. If anything, there is a tendency for the criticism to be more widespread.

Only the other week I turned up some papers, one of which was an editorial I had cut from one of the leading national daily newspapers. This editorial, which must be one of the most dishonest and scurrilous pieces of journalism to disgrace a noble profession, took the form of an attack on UNESCO.

It characterised the agency as specialising in "cranky ventures." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the writer urged, should "turn off the tap." UNESCO, along with "FAO, WHO, OEEC, and other weird world set-ups like them" had cost Britain £30,000,000 since the war. This was described as "utter waste, all of it" and Britain was urged to quit the lot immediately.

### "Schools on the air"

What are the "cranky ventures" of UNESCO to which this patriotic journal refers? An example, perhaps, is Radio Sutatenza in Columbia. From this station a team of teachers, under the direction of the Roman Catholic priest, Father Salcedo, are broadcasting six hours a day to 200,000 peasants throughout the country.

These folk gather in schools served by 6,000 special receivers, set up in homes, barns and churches, and are taught to read and write. The "schools on the air" are UNESCO's answer to the problem posed by 7,000,000 illiterates in a population of 12,000,000.

Maybe it is the community development in the Valle El General in Costa Rica which has given a new sense of dignity to the local peasants and led to an unprecedented utilisation of a hitherto backward, but potentially rich, area. Or had the editor in mind the series of authoritative documents on what race is—and is not—which UNESCO published under the title of the "Race Question in Modern Science?" In this series we have a powerful weapon in the war against ignorance, one of the major causes of racial prejudice.

And what are the money-wasting enterprises of the other "weird world set-ups?"

Is it the international efforts of FAO to conquer the locust, so that there is more food

to save folk from starvation? Is it the worldwide attack on rinderpest? Is it the new efforts to use atomic radiation in agriculture, so producing better crops?

Perhaps it is the UNICEF and WHO attack on yaws, that beastly disease which would by now have been eradicated but for our failure to divert enough money from armaments; or the BCG vaccinations which WHO is giving to Indian children in order that they do not die from tuberculosis; or the work to eradicate the malaria-carrying mosquito in Greece, the Lebanon, Mexico and El Salvador; or the 7,000,000 children and nursing mothers whom UNICEF provided with milk and other diet supplements in 1956.

### Child nutrition programme

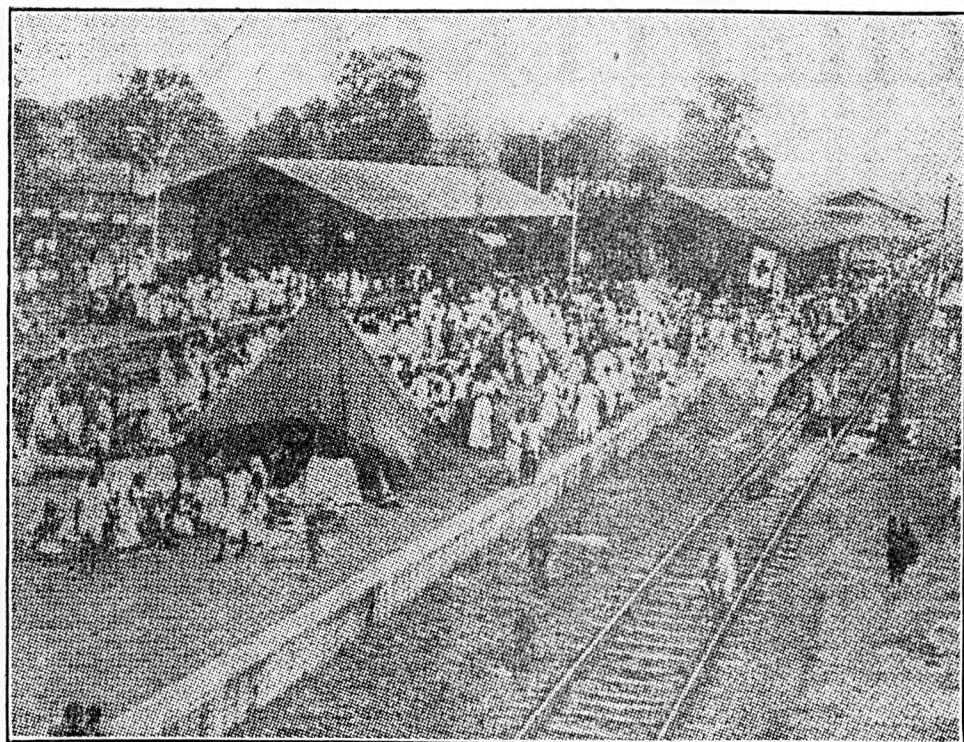
Perhaps I am on the wrong track. Perhaps the really cranky ventures were referred to in the tenth anniversary issue of the UNICEF bulletin. One was concerned with a little negro boy called Modjiena who lives in French Equatorial Africa. Modjiena suffers from leprosy, but UNICEF is curing him by supplying sulfone drugs. Another is that under which wide-eyed Joza, a small Yugoslav boy has been fed on milk provided by UNICEF's child nutrition programme.

If healing the sick, giving sight to the blind, feeding the hungry, housing the homeless and educating the illiterate is profligate expenditure, then all the UN specialised agencies will have to plead guilty to money-wasting.

The paper also asserted that "Britain gets no value out of belonging" to the agencies. As a matter of sheer accounts, British territories receive more from some of the agencies than we put in. In 1955 our contribution to the work of UNICEF was about £200,000. British territories received more than £400,000 in one form or another. Nigeria alone received more than the British contribution.

Apart from that kind of benefit there are the intangible, but very real, benefits of living in a world which is, ever so slightly, less hungry, less naked, less ignorant, and less near war. Maybe it is a world in which Empires and gunboats are out-dated, and in which outrageous men talk of Commonwealths in which Britons will be on an equality with Africans. But many of us prefer it that way.

\*The UN specialised agencies referred to in this article are: FAO—Food and Agricultural Organisation, WHO—World Health Organisation, OEEC—Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, UNESCO—United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNICEF—United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.



The Bongaon border station (West Bengal) crowded by refugees from East Pakistan

## WORK CAMPS ACROSS THE FACE OF S.E. ASIA

By HANS-PETER MULLER, Executive Secretary, Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps

**WHAT** can change the face of South-East Asia? Experts and money? Faith, enthusiasm and goodwill? Past experience seems to show that these can go a long way to success but none of them *all* the way.

Work camps are definitely on the side of faith, enthusiasm and good will. They are the expression of a generous zeal of youth in newly sovereign countries to take part directly in the building of their nation. People in work camps are not experts. Even if work camp team members have expert knowledge in any professional or technical field they will be volunteers like the others and do so many hours of back-breaking manual work on building a road, sinking a well, digging a drain, constructing a school, community hall or health centre.

However, if a professional skill is asked for by the community with whom the team works, the volunteers will provide it, if it is available. In addition, of course, every aspect of a work camp needs planning and organisation which call for skills and efficiency.

It is a well known fact that village life in most parts of South-East Asia presents major problems of poverty, ill health, under nourishment and illiteracy. Some groups of young people decided that they were not only able to discuss these problems but to do something about them. In at least one community, one small village, they would encourage the people to get busy about some of the improvements they wished for and give them the additional help to do the work. Encourage them.

### Teaching by doing

Teaching by doing—this is the key question. How many people who live in apathy, poverty and ill health can be encouraged to bring about the essentially needed improvements in their work, their habits and their condition to enable them to lead a full and happy life? How may these people be aroused from their age-long lethargy?

Good words, learned words, scientific words, often do not find much credit in the villages.

The work camper, therefore, uses another language the villagers can understand: the language of the pick and shovel, the language of back breaking manual labour. It has been found that this language is well understood by all people and it is easy to get to know one another on this level, even when one does not happen to speak the same tongue.

In 1950, Service Civil International began a regular programme of international voluntary work camps helping refugees and underprivileged communities. In 1952, the Planning Commission started giving work camps strong support and today about 100,000 volunteers participate in these camps in India annually with organisations like Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Auxiliary Cadet Corps taking a leading part in this action.

Other countries of South-East Asia where work camps have been held are Ceylon, Pakistan, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea and Japan.

### Village improvements

In Thailand, work camps helped with the building of a bridge and a road in a leprosy centre. In Burma and Indonesia, hospitals were constructed. In Ceylon, schools and community centres were rebuilt by international teams of students. In Pakistan long term village development work was undertaken by work camps and in war devastated Korea a small team of volunteers has been continuously assisting refugees with the building of their new homes. Next to India, however, it is in Japan and the Philippines that work camps are most widely known.

In Japan, each group or organisation deals with some specific aspect or problem. In the Philippines, it is the Young Men's Christian Association which initiated a work camp programme in 1952 and has found an enthusiastic response. The higher educational institutions, the colleges and universities, are taking a direct part in giving students pre-camp orientation in a series of classes. Following these classes, a survey of the prospective camp site is made by the students during the winter months.

The camps have stimulated whole village communities in the Philippines into taking up some village improvements themselves, giving their labour and even funds and discovering in the process their own resources and capabilities for dealing with situations which, in the past, would not have been tackled without government help.

Is it only by chance that in all these different countries of South-East Asia work camp organisations often not even aware of each other's existence, have developed such a strong and vigorous movement in such a few years? What differentiates these groups of youth from others claiming to revolutionise ancient Asia?

There is a common thread which may be found uniting work camp enthusiasts all over Asia (all over the world, in fact) and differentiating them from others. They are not trying to publicise a particular doctrine, idea or ideology. They have simply been "bitten" by the spirit of voluntary work camps by seeing what work camps have accomplished, and are working for their continued growth.

Work campers and work camp leaders are people of enthusiasm and good will. However, they are also people of strong determination and conviction who will carry on their work whatever the obstacles met.

Strange as it may seem, UNESCO has been connected since its inception with plain manual labour done by groups of young people in international voluntary work camps. UNESCO is interested in these camps because of their educational and social value.

In 1948, UNESCO called the First Conference of Work Camps Organisers at Paris at which delegates of 19 organisations exchanged their views and evolved a programme of mutual co-operation. At this conference the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps was created to advise UNESCO on its programme of activities related to work camps and act as a world wide information and liaison centre on work camps. Today, the Co-ordination Committee has 160 co-operating organisations spread all over the world.

### Growth of the movement

Work camp organisations of South-East Asia have made good use of the assistance offered by the Co-ordination Committee and UNESCO. In 1956, a group of work camp organisers in India, in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, UNESCO, and the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps in Paris organised a Training Project on Work Camp Methods and Techniques in which 35 work camp leaders from 12 countries, including all parts of South-East Asia participated. The group built a school and community hall on land donated by two peasants in a small village near Bangalore, South India.

The prospects for the continued growth of the voluntary work camp movement in South-East Asia are bright indeed. In December, 1957, delegates from work camp organisations will be coming to India from all parts of the world, and particularly from other countries of South-East Asia. They will participate in work camps and Leader Training Camps and eventually in a Conference of Work Camp Organisations to be called by UNESCO.

At its last conference, the World Federation of United Nations Associations passed a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to assist the various groups of young people all over the world to give effective service in areas ravaged by war or catastrophe and assist underprivileged communities wherever they exist. If the youth of South-East Asia want it, and if the work camp movement in this area keeps growing at the present rate, there is no reason why the foundations could not be laid here for a United Nations.

The Work Camp Movement will not only build roads and schools and hospitals, but bridges of good will and friendship between individuals, groups and nations.

## BOOKS

### PSYCHOLOGY AND WAR

Alex Comfort reviews

The Unconscious Motives of War, by Alix Strachey. Allen &amp; Unwin, 25s.

**THIS IS** A strikingly bad book upon a highly important topic. It sets out to explain the contribution of unconscious forces in human behaviour to the motivation of aggression, Stateism and war. It does so, however, from a basis of orthodox Freudianism quite unmodified by any of the work of social anthropologists or of animal psychologists who have supplied, under Freud's inspiration, the main gaps in his conception of human development.

It shows a preference for wild assertion unsupported by any citation of evidence, which Freud himself would have abominated: thus spies are motivated by the residues of infantile sexual curiosity—suggestive likenesses are everywhere promoted to firm relationships—"there is no doubt whatever that the psycho-analytic method provides us with an instrument which is able not only to cure mental illnesses and the predisposition to them, but largely to correct those dispositions of mind of the averagely normal person which render him such a bad risk on the international scene."

It would be most unfortunate if this were taken to be psychology's contribution to the problem of war. The second half of the quotation embodies an assumption even more reckless than the first, and, in the context, much more mischievous, because it disguises a really important element in the psychology of war and of regressive behaviour in large urban societies—that the part played by the irrationality and desire for regression of the common man in the causation of war and dictatorship is largely passive.

In contrast to the behaviour of warlike tribal cultures the aggressions and fantasies which most threaten modern Western societies are not those of large national publics but of relatively small groups within those publics, while the regressive beliefs and responses which look superficially like the spontaneous constructions of unanalysed common men—anti-semitism, spy-mania, xenophobia, and so on—are in fact the product of assiduous creation.

The regressive desire for obedience is not sufficiently strong in modern publics for any major Power to maintain an effective army today without conscription. Mrs. Strachey concludes that it is not practicable to analyse everyone—it is equally impossible to "abolish the State," for its unanalysed members would tear each other in pieces.

Her only constructive suggestions are in child upbringing, though even here there would be little agreement over details.

Excellent in intention, this book is of precisely the kind which has made Western psychology ridiculous in the eyes of ill-disposed Marxists, and psychology in general distrusted by the unanalysed man, who has a stronger awareness of his potential sociality than of his large and important fund of unconscious and irrational motives.

### The Hopi Indians

GENE SHARP reviews

The Hopi Indians, Their History and Their Culture, by Harry C. James. Caldwell, Idaho, USA, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., \$5.00.

**A** CONSIDERABLE amount of factual material about the Hopi Indians of the USA has been compiled by the author who has had personal contact with them since the early 1920's and was made a member of the tribe.

The facts are presented clearly and, generally, unpretentiously; the book is very readable. Information about the people, their social organisation, way of life, history, crafts and ceremonies is included. There are also several Hopi stories, photographs and Hopi designs.

The reviewer cannot judge the factual accuracy of the book but the volume does leave a distinct impression that somehow the author has remained "outside" the Hopi.

A number of serious students of the Hopi (and probably the Hopi traditional leaders) would differ from Mr. James' statement that "Nearly all the major problems of the Hopi stem from poverty." They would put in its place the white man's civilisation.

The author recites many of the disasters which the white man brought to this "Peaceful People" who had neither wars nor jails. He describes in some detail the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 against the Spanish in which, he says, at least a considerable number of Hopis participated.

He tells how the first US Government superintendent, American missionary, and jail, came to Hopland together, and how children were at one period literally kidnapped to be sent to Government schools to be trained in the white man's ways.

Many things have changed, it is true. The author suggests that co-operation by the Hopis with the US Government is desirable.

But the Government have, to date, shown little evidence of a desire to help preserve the Hopi way of life, which in human terms is in many ways better than the white man's civilisation—which so many of us unconsciously assume as sent from God.



# Letters to the Editor

## Kashmir

PEACE NEWS of March 22 reached me in Tunisia, where I was too busy studying aspects of Tunisian life to give immediate attention to Frank Horrabin's letter.

Yet, on reflection, I find that my observations in Tunisia were not altogether irrelevant. Here, for example (as in India), people of courage and determination are trying to implement democracy in spite of all the obstacles of illiteracy and prejudice. Even the women (I say "even" because most of them are still veiled and can have little knowledge of the world outside their homes) will vote in the next election.

Twenty years ago imperialists were still trying to justify their policy by pointing to the illiteracy, ignorance and (often) religious fanaticism prevalent in the colonies. I never regarded such arguments as a valid defence, and I am sure that Frank Horrabin—an able and fearless pioneer in the cause of Colonial freedom—was equally unimpressed. I therefore find it distressing that he should now advance the old arguments of our discredited opponents against the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir.

If his arguments, and those of James Cameron in the News Chronicle, are valid, then we should not only oppose the holding of a plebiscite but of democratic elections in Kashmir. The same objections, such as they are, clearly obtain. The future of Kashmir, in that case, should be settled not by the people of that country but by wise and good paternalists—a rôle in which the rulers of Great Britain have long fancied themselves, but a surprising one for the rulers of India, the leaders of the anti-imperialist "bloc".

Yet elections are being held in Kashmir. How do they differ from a plebiscite? James Cameron himself supplies the answer. In the same article which Frank Horrabin quoted (NC, March 16), Cameron pointed out that a victory for the pro-Indian party (the "National Conference") was rigged in advance by ordering "so many withdrawals of opposition candidates that Bakshi's majority is assured before anyone even goes to the polls."

Since a free election would clearly have involved all the risks of a plebiscite, I suppose the only possible courses open to those who reasoned in this way were either to have a rigged election or none at all. I suggest that it would have been more honest to have scrapped all pretence of democracy. Such a course would at least have made the real issue clearer; but it has yet to be demonstrated that either rigged elections or unvarnished dictatorship will avoid the developments which James Cameron and Frank Horrabin fear. I am personally very surprised to find Frank, of all people, defending the policy of sitting on the safety value on the grounds that it is the only way to avoid an explosion.—REGINALD REYNOLDS, 20 Jubilee Place, London, S.W.3.

## Negligible hazards

I AGREE with Stuart Morris (PN, March 22) that to agitate for total disarmament is a more fundamental pacifist activity than to agitate for the abolition of bomb tests. My main reason for this is that so long as national policies stimulate the fears which give rise to war, the most deadly weapons available will be made and stored come what may.

But this situation proves that there is something more fundamental than total disarmament, namely, the policies which stimulate fear and demand armaments, of which the present crisis in the Middle East is an admirable example. Given the conflict of interests—financial, economic and ideological—that are rampant in the Middle East at this moment, can any pacifist say that total disarmament is the only solution?

Why is America at cold war with Russia and playing a game of poker with her, and why does she offer to all and sundry among the Arab States financial and military assistance? Is she not concerned to possess a dominating voice in the disposition of Middle East oil? But why is she concerned when she has so much oil at home, especially in Texas?

It is because she is using almost as much oil as the rest of the world taken together, and because her demands for oil continue to mount.

Think of one item alone, the daily oil demands of 65,000,000 cars! America is interested in Middle East oil, and so is Britain and all the other industrial countries of Europe.

Yet oil is only one of a score of vital raw materials which before long may be in short supply under the rising demands of a devouring materialism. America has over eighty bases over the world. Note their location, also the location of vital raw materials and of the investments of American Corporations!

Given these facts and prospects does any pacifist really believe that the way to peace here and now lies in an agitation for total disarmament? Does it not rather lie in the development of a creative democracy and a civilisation of high quality?—WILFRED WELLOCK, Orchard Lea, Preston, Lancs.

## Sex discrimination

AN enthusiastic pacifist university friend of mine sends me a subscription to your well-written paper.

I note that colour discrimination seems to be something that you cannot tolerate.

But how about sex discrimination? Why not give us examples of that, too. Or perhaps such an attitude does not exist in the land that Voltaire termed the rival of ancient Athens in its freedom.

Right now I can give you some illustrations of sex discrimination in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. I will be graduating in May of this year with an LL.B. When I shall have articulated for a year I will be called to the bar as a barrister and solicitor provided, of course, that I pass the written and oral final examinations.

My problem now is to find a law firm at which I might article. The few other girls and I who will be graduating in law (we are only five girls) have experienced nothing but a particularly stupid form of discrimination against women law students by the male members of the profession.

I shall now illustrate what I mean:

1. One firm deals in quite a bit of criminal work and can't send a girl student down to serve summons on criminals on Cordova St. (Vancouver's Soho).

2. Another firm does some shipping work and the older partners feel that it would "be indicative for a lady student to go down to

the ships or visit the Immigration Office."

3. Another firm told me that they have luncheon meetings at which the whole firm including the students attend and at which the students learn a lot. But a girl would be out of place and would not be allowed to attend.

4. Still another firm wrote: "We already have a lady lawyer in the firm and to take a lady student would tend to overdo the feminine. Being a lady student is not an insuperable obstacle, merely an impediment."

Then, of course, we experience firms that simply say: "We only want male students," and will refuse to disclose their reasons, if they have any.

I related our experiences to a firm of two women lawyers in another B.C. city, and they wrote:

"Mrs. G. and the writer were not only amazed but furious with the attitude of the male lawyers of Vancouver. They appear to be living in the Victorian Age, and it only goes to show how much women have yet to do to acquire equal status with men from a practical point of view."

I went to the Dean of our Law Faculty and he said that this type of discrimination is very real. However, once the girls get called, he said, they are just as good lawyers and just as successful as the males.

As the law is the only work I am interested in, I will keep on looking for a firm to article with. Perhaps we may have to try another Province, though I do not see why that Far West Province would be different.

Do your readers have some suggestions?—ELOUISE R. HARRISON, Room 10, No. 47, Acadia, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, British Columbia, Canada.

## The H-bomb

THE responsibility of all peace-loving people increases as the time approaches, when yet another hydrogen bomb is planned to be exploded. The leaders of our nation, unchecked by the attitude of the public (because it is complacent) continue to lead humanity to a devastating death. Public opinion must be aroused and this can only be achieved by the spectacular. The suggestion that pacifists should remain within death's distance of Christmas Island, is one method. Fasting and public demonstrations must be organised in order that the public may know that even now we can turn back from the evil H-bomb road. Let us follow the example of Christ and Gandhi and other great pacifists in taking upon ourselves suffering in order that the evil may be defeated.—G. R. LOWSON and R. J. IVORY, 34 Pembroke Ave., Luton, Beds.

## International politics

DOES anyone pause and try to think for themselves just what the term "cold war" really means? To me, it seems to indicate a state of frustration. Just now it has reached the phase where one great power potential is threatening its ideological opposite with weapons that have as yet no actual existence.

Will the time shortly arrive when supremacy can be achieved and maintained merely by the pointing of a draughtsmans' pencil at the supposed enemy? Or perhaps the greatest power will so much burden itself with defensive-offensive machinery that they will actually welcome attack and defeat by way of relief from intolerable self-protection.

Any suggestions for sublimation of the

April 5, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

power-ego of international politics?—GEORGE CLEVELAND, 22 Oakfield Grove, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

## Parties to defence

UNLIKE the Labour Peace Fellowship, which significantly abandoned its old name of Labour Pacifist Fellowship, the Fellowship Party does not support that so-called lesser of two evils—the Labour Party—but attacks all evils, including submarines, hydrogen bombs, German rearmament, US bases and conscription, whichever Party supports them.

Labour and Conservatives still call war a method of "defence." They still continue the monstrous iniquity of conscription by which boys are cold-bloodedly and systematically taught to kill, to which neither Party has moral nor Christian objections. One day, for expediency's sake, they may end it, not for Labour pacifists on whose votes Labour can always rely.

Mr. Brian's analogy with the Church is odd. An Anglican, I have preached pacifism also in Methodist, Congregational and Baptist Churches and spoken on any political platform I chose, without being expelled. Had I been in the Labour Party and exercised such freedom of speech, I should have been expelled like Cripps. If in the House I had voted against German rearmament, I should have been suspended like Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates and the other half-dozen who exercised freedom of conscience and dared disobey the Party Whips; and what use to pacifism is a pacifist who dares not vote pacifist?

Maybe there are fewer pacifists in the Fellowship Party than in the Labour Party, but since when was loyalty to moral and religious principles estimated by heads? When did it become pacifist idealism to put Party before conscience and say, "My Labour Party right or wrong?"

Labour's verbal opposition to the Suez war characteristically rejected from the start the pacifist method which Dr. Soper, the Fellowship Party, and other pacifist leaders proclaimed: that of refusing to make, transport or use arms. The Labour leader was cheered by the Tories for attacking nationalisation of the Suez Canal Co. Another Labour leader advocated sending the Navy.

Labour leaders who opposed a war that defied the UN, supported so-called "police" action, which orphaned 1,000,000 Korean children. While pacifists subordinate pacifism to the dictates of such Party leaders, or worse still, keep silent about it, the majority of Britons will never learn about pacifism, let alone accept it. Let pacifists unite and preach pacifism.—RONALD S. MALLONE (General Secretary, The Fellowship Party), 141 Woolacombe Rd., London, S.E.3.

## Conflicting views

"THE Government should tell the United States firmly and resolutely that Britain must cut its defence expenditure and work for a new foreign policy which would result in the American forces in Europe returning to the USA."—Mr. Emrys Hughes, member of the Labour Party. Peace News, February 15, 1957.

"American troops must remain in Europe, in the Netherlands, in France and in Britain."—Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party. Lecture at Harvard University, USA, quoted in L'Express, Paris, February 8, 1957.—ERNEST H. BARLETT, The Freedom, Llandogo, Monmouthshire.

## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

### Saturday, April 6

LONDON, S.W.1: 2 p.m.-7.30 p.m.; Hope Ho., 45 Gt. Peter St. AGM. Visitors welcome. Labour Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Speaker from the New Renaissance School. Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m.-7.30 p.m.; Swarthmore Hall, Muttley Plain, Devon and Cornwall Area AGM. Tea provided. PPU.

### Sunday, April 7

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Committee Room, NPC, 29 Gt. James St. "Do we live outside the Universe?" Speaker, Antony Bates.

LEIGHTON PARK: Reckitt Ho., Leighton Park School. Annual Conference for boys facing conscription. Society of Friends.

### Monday, April 8

LONDON, N.14: 8 p.m.; Church Ho., High St., Southgate. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Southgate Council of Christian Churches.

### Tuesday, April 9

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church Hall, Bowes Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Southgate Council of Churches and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

### Thursday, April 11

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Muriel Barnard, "A Question of Colour." Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m.-8.30 p.m.; 29 Gt. James St. "Pacifism, Power and Politics." Ronald Mallone, BA. Discussion. Youth Group. Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m.; 29 Gt. James St. "Catholics and Peace." Guest speaker, Paul Derrick, and discussion. FAX.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Swami Avyaktananda, "Vedanta, Spiritual Communism and Non-Violence." PYAG.

### Friday, April 12

COCKFOSTERS: 8 p.m.; Church Ho., Christ Church. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Southgate Council of Christian Churches.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mrs. Grace Coleman, "The Barrier of Colour in Southern Rhodesia," postponed from March 8. Chairmen, Sybil Morrison. Refreshments from 6 p.m. Peace Pledge Union and Peace News.

### Saturday, April 13

LEYTONSTONE: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Bring-and-Buy Sale. Anti-Reunion Concert, E.10 and E.11 Gp. PPU.

PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m.; Rear of Friends Mtg. Ho., Ford Park Lane, Muttley. Poster Parade through City Centre as a demonstration against the H-bomb tests at Christmas Island. Plymouth Joint Pacifist Committee.

### Tuesday, April 16

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; London Area's AGM, 6 Endsleigh St. Coffee at 7 p.m. Peace Pledge Union.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; 36 Coleridge Rd., Old Trafford. Central Gp. Mtg. PPU.

### Tuesday, April 23

FULHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Concert Hall, Fulham Town Hall. Public Mtg. against H-bomb tests. Geoffrey Taylor (Prospective Liberal Candidate for Yeovil), Ronald Mallone, BA (Prospective Fellowship Party Candidate for W. Woolwich) and C. D. Legon. Fulham Liberal Assn.

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MEETINGS  
S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Sunday, April 7th, 11 a.m. Professor T. H. Pear, MA, "Social Pressure in Belief and Behaviour." Adm. free. Free copy of "Monthly Record" on request.

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## H-BOMB POLICY

Mr. Brown proposes a reduction of no more than a fifth.

He apparently wants to keep the H-bomb to threaten the Russians unilaterally if their 500 submarines arrive off our coasts.

If this is to be the policy of the next Labour Government where is it going to find the money it proposes to raise for better houses, more old age pensions, better education, the Welfare State, and the development of backward areas?

Will our technicians and engineers be able to be in the factories whose production is needed if we are to increase our export trade and stave off bankruptcy and at the same time be in the factories producing guided missiles and rockets and the expensive paraphernalia of modern war?

If Labour is going to support and underline the policy which Mr. Sandys has already announced and which Mr. Macmillan further explained last Monday, it will commit us to spending enormous sums of money on the new kind of weapons whose cost an American Admiral has just described as "astronomical."

We are now at a critical stage in the history of Labour Party policy.

The Labour Party can either voice the public opinion that demands the cessation of the bomb tests in the Pacific, and work out a new defence and foreign policy which is implicit in this demand, or it can give the green light to Mr. Macmillan's policy on the H-bomb.

If it does this it will cease to be a real Opposition. It will forfeit its claim to have an alternative policy. It will dishearten and discourage those who have believed since Suez that the Labour Party has a foreign policy which can save us from suicidal nuclear war.

## 'UN SUPPORTS US' SAY GREEK CYPRIOTS

From Christopher Lake

IT is a depressing thought that demonstrations only appear to have news value when violence takes place. During the many years that the Cypriots held peaceful demonstrations (before April, 1955), little or no publicity was given to the Cyprus question, and this tradition was again followed by most sections of the Press when on Sunday, March 24, thousands of Greek Cypriots demonstrated in London. They were celebrating Greek Independence Day (March 25) and demanding self-determination for the one Greek island that has not yet achieved union with Greece.

After Lord Listowel had placed a wreath on Lord Byron's memorial in Park Lane, a huge procession made its way via Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road and Euston Road to St. Pancras Town Hall. The hall was packed for the meeting which followed and it is estimated that at least a thousand people were not able to obtain admission.

The chief speaker was Mr. A. Ziartides, the General Secretary of the left-wing Panypryan Federation of Labour, who is obliged to stay in London as there is a warrant for his arrest in Cyprus.

### Political expediency

In the course of an excellent speech he said that past and recent discussions in UNO had added greatly to the political experience of the Cypriots.

"Now we know," he said, "that decisions are taken most often on the basis of political expediency and the special interest for which each country votes. Now we know that a case can be a just one and yet it can be voted down."

"When Mr. Eden was Prime Minister, he said that Britain needed Cyprus because it needs oil. Other responsible people have said that Britain must remain in Cyprus because its strategic interests demand this. I have read the Charter of the United Nations carefully. I have studied well the principles and aims of UNO. I did not see written anywhere that the freedom of a small people must bow to the interests of the oil companies. I did not see it provided in the UN Charter that a great power could suppress and enslave small peoples when their military interests so demand."

He added that the principles of UNO provide for self-determination and that the recent UN resolution on Cyprus cannot honestly be interpreted as meaning anything other than that Cyprus must exercise the right of self-determination.

## Ex-officers speak at Friendship House

THIS well-known International Peace Centre in North Germany (Bückeburg), is now well into the activities of another year. During the last study course, it was interesting to note that four ex-officers were among the lecturers—Admiral Stummel, Martin Nicmoller, Walter Heide of East Germany and Henri Rojer of France. Volunteer work-students, who pay only 3s. 4d. a day, are busy in the grounds and will soon be excavating for the last stage of the building plan.

At Easter (April 18-22), a conference for teachers, parents and students will consider various aspects of the preparation of children, in home and school, for co-operation in social life. Prof. Schomburg of Hannover, Dr. Ellen Simon of Berlin, Frau Ullmann of Chemnitz, Dr. Weissenfels of Kassel, and Olive Goodskontz, USA, are among the lecturers.

The conference fee is £2, and full particulars can be had from William R. Hughes, 35 Douling, Shepton Mallet, Somerset.

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## Colonial Africa

FROM PAGE TWO

More Europeans are settling in Southern Rhodesia each year—some 30,000—than in any other African territory.

Todd admits, however, that "we are definitely not making the best use of our African manpower and we propose to do so."

As a churchman, he confesses that "the Church itself has not always been up in front, and sometimes the Church finds it difficult to keep ahead of the times." Admittedly there are great areas of discrimination and segregation in Southern Rhodesia, but Todd points with pride to the fact that the labour unions are not separate.

Uganda was represented at Accra by several leaders, including I. K. Musazi, president of the Uganda National Congress. Some feel that Uganda will be self-governing even before Nigeria, which has been called "the premier colony." Musazi said that satyagraha is one of his favourite weapons. He has read several of Gandhi's books and observed: "I think Gandhi was really a wonderful man."

From East Africa one senses a good deal of feeling against the Indians residing there. Even some of the African leaders reflect prejudices against them. Yet one of the shrewdest African nationalists told me this: "The Indians tend to be the Jews of East Africa—the small traders—and we Africans must be careful not to fall into a trap and be against them."

"They are not an obstacle to self-government. Once we become free, they will become citizens of our free nations and play an important economic role in building up our country. Even now, some Indians are helping our freedom movements, however quietly they are doing so."

### FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Angola is one of the "unknown" colonies of Africa. The Portuguese still continue the infamous system of forced labour whereby Africans are rounded up in their villages and forced to work for the Government or for private employers for stated periods. Angola is so poverty-stricken that thousands of Africans have left the territory to work in adjacent Northern Rhodesia or the Belgian Congo.

The stories they tell of forced labour are unbelievable for the second half of the twentieth century. Fortunately, their documents are finding their way to the United Nations and pressures are being put to induce Portugal, a relatively new member of the United Nations, to list and report yearly on her non-self-governing territories.

French Equatorial Africa was not represented at Ghana by any African leaders, but Africans are making undeniable political progress there also. I talked to the new African mayor of Brazzaville, the capital city, and he told me this: "What is beginning now should have begun some time ago, but France is trying to rectify her pre-war mistakes." I told Mayor Flubert, a Roman Catholic priest, of the proposed Pan-African Congress, and he instantaneously replied: "We must be represented; as Africans, anything about Africa is of interest to us."

Just twenty minutes by ferry across the Congo from Brazzaville is Leopoldville, the capital of the Belgian Congo. This territory also, is showing signs of political activity.

In the past the Belgian authorities rationalised their suppression of political activity on the part of the Africans by saying that neither Africans nor Europeans could have the vote! Now, things are changing, and only last August an African newspaper, "Conscience Africaine", published a political manifesto which set the Europeans talking. It asked the Europeans in the Congo to abandon their attitude of racial segregation and condescension towards Africans. The document commented: "We cannot forever be treated as children."

### BELGIAN CONGO

"Conscience Africaine" also rejected "with vehemence, the principle of equal but separate."

The colour bar was strong in Leopoldville when I visited it five years ago. Today it has lessened. The Governor-General in a recent speech boasted how "in an increasing number of our schools White and native children are bent over the same text books and, at recess time, share in the same games." Also the cafés and hotels tend to be open now to Africans. At least, I had lunch in a prominent hotel with two Africans (but not from the Congo), and there was no trouble; indeed they stayed in this hotel for several nights between planes. I did hear that one pharmacy in Leopoldville still has a big brass rail, for African customers on one side and European customers on the other.

While progress is being made even in the Congo, the Governor-General is still a defender of the old order. In a speech he said: "Colonisation, in the high sense of the word, is a science and a technique. Too many international bodies, blinded by the anti-colonial spirit, have a tendency to reject colonial precepts so that we ourselves are put in a position to violate them for strictly contingent reasons."

He urged Belgians in the Congo not to lose faith, "not to sink into a state of pessimism bordering on defeatism," just because there is "an increase of terrorism in Algeria from which we are as far as Belgium is from the Caucasus." I myself wonder if it is really that far, politically, from Algiers to Leopoldville!

These are a few glimpses of colonial Africa. The full story is as complex as the very terrain is varied. The independence of Ghana has been an ingredient which can only quicken a process which is inevitable. These insights may indicate that the political ferment in Africa today is not unlike that in Asia less than two decades ago.

# THE VANDALISM OF WAR

*The Outer Hebrides has proved to be the only place for training men in the use of guided missiles... There has been an exhaustive search... So far from double-crossing the people of South Uist, the Government have leant over backwards to play fair... If there must be guided missiles men must be trained to use them. If I lived in South Uist I should be unhappy that all this should be necessary, but I should not accuse the Government of deliberate vandalism, or of doing anything underhand. This just is not true.*

—Lord Mancroft, Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Defence, March 31, 1957.

VANDALISM was once a derogatory word expressive of the horror in which deliberate destruction of priceless works of art and beautiful architecture was held.

Now, reckless destruction and wilful smashing of works of art are methods of modern war, and those who wage war would argue that it was a necessary part of the paramount need to be victorious.

Nevertheless, it is certain that Churchill would not have called the bombing of Dresden or Cologne vandalism, though this word, and others of the same meaning, were used to describe Hitler's bombing of Coventry and Bath.

The truth is, that because of the dreadful excesses of modern war, the word has lost its condemnatory meaning, and cannot honestly be used in that sense by any of the Great Powers, as descriptive of each other, unless they condemn themselves as well.

The justification on the part of the Government spokesmen for annexing the land of the people of South Uist is the logical conclusion of the belief in, and the support of, the war method. It is, however, not so much the "vandalism" of destroying the crops and the crops, though that is bad enough, as the sheer wilful destruction of the object itself that needs to be attacked and resisted.

To say that if there are to be guided missiles men must be trained to launch them is not a new argument at all. If it is believed that disputes can be settled with bows and arrows, with rifles, machine guns, tanks, submarines, warships or bombs, plainly men must be trained to use these weapons. That is what armies, navies, and air-forces are; they are men trained in the use of the weapons with which they are supplied.

This is not something to which the majority of people object; there are a few who do so on grounds of conscience, but very few; and there are some who grumble about national service on the grounds of inconvenience, or complain about conditions in the army on the grounds of "human rights," but on the whole, the business of so-called military preparedness is accepted without question.

Now, however, the whole way of life of a small community is suddenly shattered by this alleged need for training. The people of South Uist, object, naturally, to the annexation of their homes and their land, and no amount of

## H-tests FROM PAGE ONE

Last week's New Scientist magazine (London), in a special atomic science section, featured British H-bomb tests. Should Britain abandon the tests? "Yes," argued Bertrand (Earl) Russell, OM, FRS. "No," replied Conservative MP Angus Maude.

Bertrand Russell, the scientist and philosopher, did not "think that either the British or the American Governments have adequately considered the arguments of those who oppose experimental explosions." He favoured an agreement to abandon the tests because they "cannot be concealed and there is therefore no need to fear surreptitious bad faith." The agreement would not give a differential advantage to either side, and would allay the resentment of Neutrals. It would be a step towards peaceful co-existence—"a necessity since nuclear war is no longer considered as a means of realising the aims of either side"—and diminish the hazards. "While the hazards remain uncertain, it is surely unwise to assess them at the lowest possible level."

"To make the tests wait for a general (disarmament) agreement is to postpone the matter indefinitely, if past experience of the disarmament conference is any guide."

Failing agreement, Russell believed Britain should abandon H-bomb tests unilaterally. Britain's great part in the world was to be found through wisdom, not power. "So long as we rely on (the ability to destroy hundreds of millions of Russians) we cannot avoid a fundamental moral corruption. Risks must be run whatever we do." The abandonment of the manufacture of the H-bomb was the wisest course on the grounds of security, but more important, "I do not wish to be an accomplice in a vast atrocity which threatens the world with overwhelming disaster."

### MAUDE: CONTINUE TESTS

Angus Maude, in supporting the continuation of tests, and arguing against international agreement, believed that "all international politics affecting Great Powers are power politics," and that no Power had an immaculate record. "Obviously all these wrongs do not together make a right, but they do add up to the reality of the world in which politicians have to work and take decisions... I prefer realism to faith."

A great act of faith, he continued, would produce no change in the world. "If Britain had openly and absolutely renounced the possibility of using force from the beginning of the Suez dispute last summer, it would have made no difference whatever to the behaviour of the Russians in Hungary or to the intransigence of Mr. Nehru over Kashmir."

"Without the H-bomb," Mr. Maude asserted, "we can scarcely have a significant foreign policy of our own." He did not think that other European countries would demand a chance to test their own bombs as they developed them, but "that the completion of the British H-bomb would make the world a safer place in the future."

leaning over backwards by the Government in order to "play fair" by them, makes any difference to the bare fact of their enforced evacuation.

"Playing fair" seems a singularly inappropriate word in connection with a guided missile range, which is designed to launch a weapon that will fall 5,000 miles away upon absolutely helpless and innocent human beings. Anything more unfair could scarcely have been devised.

The plea that all is fair in war is one of those universal platitudes that needs to be challenged at its source; there is no moral or ethical ground on which such a claim could be made. In the same way the statement that if guided missiles are to be used men must be trained in their use, also needs to be challenged at its source.

The operative word is *if*. When V.2s first dived in their sinister silence out of the sky on to London's soil, blasting people and buildings with deadly indiscriminate, the word "vandalism" was on many people's lips.

It was believed that only Germans could do anything so horrible. The tragedy is that Britain's decision to do the same should not only be justified on grounds of expediency, but should be so easily accepted.

If the people of Uist were to object on grounds of moral repugnance to the weapon itself, the Government might find that however far they leaned over to justify it, convincing the people would be an impossible task.

It is when men and women say "No" to the vandalism of war that the first step towards peace will have been taken.

## "Full House" for WILPF

"FULL HOUSE" notices are going up for the Annual Council of the WILPF British Section, to be held at University Hall, Bangor, April 5-8. Over 80 delegates have booked in for the week-end, in addition to local non-resident members who will attend the sessions.

The week-end opens with a reception by the President of the Bangor branch, Lady Emrys Evans, and the Lord Mayor of Bangor. A public meeting in the Powis Hall on Friday evening will be addressed by the WILPF International Chairman, Mrs. Else Zeuthen, a member of the Danish Parliament, who is flying over specially for the meetings. Other speakers will be Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP, a member of the British Section, and Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S., President of the British Section, will take the chair. Subject: "One World or No World".

## Seamen said 'no' to war

SOME of 17 seamen from the Barbados who refused to prepare their ship for the Suez war zone last year claim that they are being victimised.

The men appeared at Barry police court (Wales) last year when 34 summonses against them were dismissed.

The Harrison Shipping Company are appealing against the Barry magistrate's decision. At Barry, the captain of the SS Senator said that the behaviour of the seamen had been very good until a report got about that the ship was due to sail for Cyprus with war material.

"They are natives of Barbados and do not belong to a union," a friend of the men told Peace News. "There is a TUC in Barbados, but no Seamen's Union."

"Seven of the men returned to their families in Barbados, the remainder stayed here to seek employment, but we have lost touch with them and maybe they are not aware of this appeal of the shipowners."

## MILITARY CEREMONY PROTEST

THE REV. EIRWYN MORGAN, minister of a Llandudno Baptist Chapel, has refused an invitation to take part in the unveiling and dedication of the town's war memorial.

The date chosen for the ceremony is VE Day, May 8.

"I have the greatest respect to the memory of the men who conscientiously fought and died in the war, and a sincere regard for the families who mourn their loss," Mr. Morgan told the Chairman of the Town Council.

"I do not feel I can participate in any public ceremony which tends to confuse Christianity and war."

The choice of VE Day for the ceremony is significantly militaristic.

"You will understand my objection, I am sure, as you no doubt appreciated my previous declaration regarding Remembrance Sunday."

## H-TEST PAMPHLET OUT TODAY

A ROUSING and a factual pamphlet, written by Harold Davies, Labour MP for Leek, gives a further impetus to the H-test campaign. Entitled "Death Stands at Attention" and carrying a starkly challenging cover design by pacifist artist Dennis James, it packs all the arguments and information campaigners need.

Many pacifists are among the over sixty MPs supporting this publication, and distribution is jointly arranged by Housmans (who have published it for Mr. Davies), The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, and Movement for Colonial Freedom.

First supplies, rushed through the press in five days, are out today, price 6d. a copy (post 2d.), or 5s. a dozen post free, from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.